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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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Olof Vessberg

21/4 1909–15/1 1975

A few months before his retirement the professor of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Stockholm Olof Vessberg died on January 15th 1975.

Olof Vessberg was a well-known scholar of ancient sculpture, especially Roman portrait sculpture, his

most well-known work being his thesis "Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik" from 1941. He also had the ability to put forward to his students the results of his researches in a vivid and enthusiastic way either in the museums of Rome during his directorship of the Swedish Institute in Rome 1953–

1955 or after he had been appointed professor in Stockholm in 1970 during excursions to various European museums. It was also during such an excursion to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen that he was overcome by an illness, from which he did not recover.

For the period 1945–1953 Vessberg was director of the Cyprus Collections in Stockholm and contributed also to the publication of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition with chapters on the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Cyprus. He favoured the idea that the various ancient Mediterranean collections in Stockholm should be united in one museum. When in 1954 the Medelhavsmuseet was founded by administrative combination of the Cyprus Collections, the Asine Collection and the Iranian Collection with the Egyptian Museum in the Old Town, Vessberg became director of the new Museum. He served as director for the period 1955–1970. During this time he augmented the collections systematically by acquiring especially Greek, Italian and Etruscan vases and Roman portraits. In this task he was strongly supported by King Gustaf VI Adolf as well as by Mr Henning

Throne-Holst, the first chairman of the Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet.

Vessberg started the publication of the *Bulletin of the Museum* in 1961 and contributed much to the foundation of the Society of Friends of the Museum in 1966. From 1971 onwards he was chairman of this society.

As professor at the University of Stockholm Vessberg found great pleasure in the contact with his numerous students. Often he made his lectures in the collections of the Museum and not seldom the students were given subjects from these collections for scientific articles. In memory of Olof Vessberg some of his former students at Stockholm University and former collaborators at the Medelhavsmuseet have written the papers published in this *Bulletin*.

For the Museum Olof Vessberg's death was a grievous loss. Nobody else knew the collections so well and he always generously shared his knowledge with others.

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

Fragments of Akhenaten Reliefs in Stockholm

Bengt Peterson

*Ich dencke wenn man etwas in die Lufft bauen will, so sind es immer besser
Schlösser als Kartenhäuser.
Lichtenberg (F 534)*

The Akhenaten Temple Project established in 1967 and still in progress is one of the most interesting features of archaeological and technological cooperation in the field of Egyptological studies. Using the computer to match tens of thousands of blocks with reliefs one has already achieved remarkable results in putting together the pieces of this giant puzzle. During several decades blocks of the Akhenaten temples or chapels in Karnak have been extracted from later constructions, having been used as building material. One or two generations after Akhenaten there were hardly any standing buildings of his anymore. Now, the project will help us to know of the beginnings of the Akhenaten art. Parts of the walls can be reconstructed; their bold and often unique relief designs and their new technique give an emphasized importance to this early phase of the Akhenaten art; already in Thebes the "Amarna art" is wholly conceived. Thanks to R. W. Smith and his Egyptian and American collaborators in the project of the University Museum, Philadelphia, but also to the leaders of the Franco-Egyptian exploration of the 9th pylon of Karnak and its wealth of Akhenaten blocks we have become aware of the utmost importance of the Theban monuments of Akhenaten.¹

It is evident that many of the relief blocks—called *talatat* using an Arabic word—have disappeared. But several reliefs clearly belonging to the groups of Theban *talatat*s having been found at Karnak, Luxor, Medamoud &c. have reached museums and collections all over the world.² Even in Stockholm one can find some of them—five fragments in all. The aim of this paper is their presentation. Four of the fragments were acquired in 1972 having previously belonged for several decades to a Swiss private collection; the fifth fragment was transferred from a local Swedish museum in 1960. All of the pictorial fragments repre-

sent scenes common in the cycles of the Theban monuments of Akhenaten, scenes dealing with festive occasions at the temples of the sun god Aten: the king, the greeting people, processions and offerings. A glance is enough to ascertain the classification of the Stockholm fragments; all of them—in sunk relief—are so characteristic of the Akhenaten style. Furthermore the inscriptions on two of them give another type of evidence. Their material is sandstone; this is also a feature in common of the Theban monuments; if one goes to Amarna or to the Memphite area one will find limestone as the medium of Akhenaten's reliefs.³ The original thickness of the Stockholm fragments has been reduced. The faces of the blocks carrying reliefs have been cut off in modern times; the original thickness often being about 50 cm. These Stockholm fragments are kept in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet.

1. Men carrying a palanquin

MME 1972:14. Length 33 cm, height 8.5 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.

The first fragment is a detail of a scene which certainly has shown the arrival or departure of the king in a palanquin. Preserved are two rows of men in front of the chair proper. They are carrying the heavy poles of this palanquin. There may have been more men, at least three rows of them which is evident from some parallels.⁴ There are two men in each row. The design of this fragment shows a traditional solution of the problem of perspective using double outlines. It is most evident in the representation of the men to the right. There is a double outline at the breast and another one from the elbow to the hand of the right arm.



1. Men carrying a palanquin. MME 1972:14.

The men at the left may have been represented in the same way. Of them only a detail of the breast and the left arm is preserved besides the heads which are complete. One sees the entire head with wig and hanging band of the first man while the second man is only indicated by the double outline of the upper front part of the first man's head, just covering the breadth of the pole behind him. There are some traces which may indicate a headdress of double feathers like those found in some parallel representations of palanquin-carriers.⁵ It is difficult to precise whether anything else has been represented in the upper left corner of the fragment.

The dress of the men was evidently just a short skirt, the indication of which is the line on the right man's body. Otherwise their bodies were naked; there are rich traces of the original red colouring of them.

To the utmost right there is a detail of the sculptural design of the palanquin, a lion lying on a naos-shaped podium. The lion as a symbol of royal power is common on palanquins used by the king. This design with the relatively small lion seems uncommon.

2. The king

MME 1972:13. Length 21 cm, height 13.5 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.

Not only in Karnak but also at Amarna Akhenaten

appears with very traditional attributes of kingship, e.g. the crooked sceptre and flail.⁶ In the Theban reliefs and sculptures there are abundant evidences of this, often perhaps connected with his appearance in the ceremonies of the *sed*-festival. The second Stockholm fragment is a representation of the king carrying the two sceptres—each in one hand—the flail is clearly pictured to the left, while the significant part of the crooked sceptre is not preserved anymore. Akhenaten's long neck, the curving line of his chin and his full mouth are very characteristic. The king's body, neck and face have been painted in red. He may have been pictured with a naked breast, the only adornment of which was a neck-collar. There are faint traces of white to indicate the bottom colour of this piece of jewellery. Behind the king shine the rays of Aten. One of them shows a customary termination: a human hand, this one holding the *wāš*-hieroglyph. The king with the sun disk above is one of the key motifs of the Akhenaten art.

It is interesting to note the very deep carving of the outline parts of the king's body while details are just softly modelled. This technical feature is so evident for the new relief type introduced by Akhenaten used in the religious constructions where the divine sun played an important role also in giving life to the wall decorations with its ever changing light. This is very characteristic but has seldom been emphasized.⁷

3. Adoring men

MME 1972:15. Length 27 cm, breadth 22.5 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.⁸

Another fragment is the scene where at least three men have participated, their arms raised in adoration. They lean forward and stretch out their arms. The only indication of their dress are the short sleeves of their tunics. Their faces and arms have been painted in red while their dress was white.

Also here it is important to note the way of cutting the relief with the deep incision uppermost allowing the sunlight to give an accentuated effect playing with the shadow. Then the faces are modelled in a very subtle way; especially the eyes are mere swellings where the light and of course the now vanished painting could give a soft effect by force of contrast to the sharp cutting above. One can also admire the very clever linking together of the group by means of the hands placed over the rear part of the heads thus creating a connected block of the single figures.⁹ If the men were standing or kneeling cannot be said. Especially in

Amarna tombs there are good examples of kneeling and standing men with raised arms with little or no difference in position.¹⁰

A fragment of an upper register is also preserved. Along the line dividing the registers one can see the outstretched lower part of a human leg. Evidently it is a kneeling man turned to the left. His leg is indicated by the soft sketchy outline and is slightly modelled.

4. The king offering

MME 1972:12. Length 25.5 cm, height 23 cm, thickness 5 cm. Sandstone.¹¹

Again and again one finds scenes of offerings in the Karnak talatats. The king or the queen or both of them are offering, standing at altars on which are heaped meat and bread, fruit and vegetables and all of the customary goods which the god is pleased to receive. The royal persons present the offerings, cleanse them with water or perfume them with the burning incense. This fragment shows the king standing to the left on his

2. The king. MME 1972:13.





3. Adoring men. MME 1972:15.

way libating. He has a characteristic vessel containing water, a traditional liturgical vessel. In the other hand he may have held the incense-burner or perhaps a small votive figure like those of Maat so often met with in his Karnak reliefs.

The king's dress is unusual, his skirt of uneven length. He also wears a tunic with short sleeves, further neck-collar and sandals. His bare arms and legs are painted in red. In front of him there is a standing royal figure—partly painted in red—wearing a uraeus on its head dress. This is a statue of the king holding a cone-shaped object—presumably a piece of bread—in its hands. One may note that its belly is shaped in the typical Akhenaten style while the figure supposed to be the king in person is very slender lacking the exaggerated features of the new art. Similar statues are

fairly common in Theban as well as in Amarna reliefs¹², most often occurring in connection with offering tables or altars. In front of the statue here there are fragments of an offering-table on which are seen red-painted offerings, perhaps pieces of meat.

It is clear that the action takes place in the interior of a temple building. Behind the king a large door is flung open. Two officials are approaching. The first one holds a spouted vessel of the same type as that of the king and in his other hand a sceptre of common design. His skirt is short, he has a shaved head and wears no sandals. His body is painted in red. Leaning a little forward he is without haste approaching the door. Behind him the other man comes along. He is just fragmentarily preserved—his arm and face in red. He wears a rather voluminous dress and has a wig.

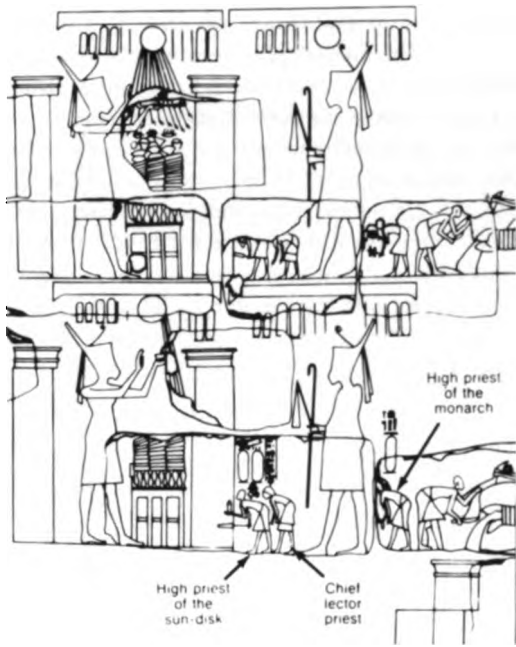
There are two lines of an inscription above the two men. It is evident that they contained their titles—or the title of one of them. It seems clear that only the beginning of the left column is lost. The upper end of the division line is untouched which means that the inscription's uppermost part has been in line with the first still visible sign of the right column. Thus the right column is entirely preserved. The profession of the men we cannot make clear but in return we can see that they belonged to the administration of the Aten temple in Thebes as the inscription continues:

𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏=𓅓𓏏, "... of the House of Aten in Southern Heliopolis".¹³ The hieroglyphs were filled with a light blue colour as was also the division line of the registers which is to be seen at the bottom of the fragment.

In the new documents from Karnak there are some parallels which show that the Stockholm fragment belonged to a series of representations of the king's *sed*-festival. One scene reconstructed by D. B. Redford shows the same arrangement: the king offering and two officials entering the door.¹⁴ They appear in about the same way and they are identified by the

4. The king offering. MME 1972:12.





Reconstruction of Karnak talatat by D. Redford.

inscriptions as the high-priest of the Aten and the chief lector priest. Scenes of this kind displaying the same iconographic pattern frequently recur as they illustrate the same visit of the king in the long row of different *sed*-festival chapels. The king is usually accompanied by the highest officials of the priesthood. D. B. Redford has also elsewhere published some blocks which display the same scene.¹⁵

5. The name of Nefertiti

MME 1960:3. Length 17.5 cm, height 9 cm, thickness 10 cm. Sandstone.

This fragment contains only parts of two vertical lines of hieroglyphs. The left one gives the title of the queen [𓆎 𓆑 𓆑], "*the great king's wife*", while the right one contains the cartouche with the name [𓆎 𓆑 𓆑], "*Nefertiti*".

The incised line dividing the two columns has its natural beginning just at the top of the fragment. Thus the royal title and the name represent the very beginning of the columns respectively. Often the full titulary contains other titles as well: "*The great king's wife, beloved by him, the mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lady of the Two Lands Nefertiti, given life for ever and ever*". The

name is the early elementary name of the queen "*The beautiful one has come*" later to be supplemented by the "*Beautiful is the beauty of Aten*". element also contained in her cartouche. There are traces of an overall white coating of the surface of the fragment but no remains of colours in the signs.

All of these fragments are of the same stylistic quality. They have been executed in a rapid way: they are stereotype, but sometimes with a softened and detailed treatment of single parts. All of them are characteristic of the Karnak art of Akhenaten which is in itself limited by the very material of the reliefs, the rather coarse sandstone. It restricts to a large extent the execution of fine details. Those have most often been indicated by painting. In the very rapid way of execution there is a latent tendency to stereotype mannerism; these sandstone reliefs are not of the same quality as the major part of the limestone Amarna reliefs. This is perhaps also dependent on the relatively short time allowed for the huge Akhenaten constructions at Karnak, the extension of which we now are better aware of than ever before. Even if they were continued after the removal of the royal court to Amarna¹⁶ the Karnak works represent an enormous effort of the craftsmen and artists involved, from the extraction of the stone in the distant quarries to the erection of the structures and to the final painting of the finely cut figures.

We have found it wise to apply a motto to this

5. The name of Nefertiti. MME 1960:3.



presentation of the Stockholm reliefs. It is adverse to those people who still think of Akhenaten as the religious dreamer, the passive mystic who adored his sungod forgetting about the external world. Certainly those elements are present in his personality, too. But Akhenaten also presents himself as a very extrospective and forceful person in the whole extent of the documents. His buildings as well as his hymns to Aten are significant. There is a tremendous will and an intense activity behind the concrete monuments of his age. The king has put a great personal effort in developing a completely new face of Egyptian art and architecture, of religion and literature. Even the Egyptologist can hardly imagine the very great participation demanded of the responsible person at the head of such a conception and its realization; which efforts are not behind the huge projects of Thebes, Amarna and other centres hardly known, e.g. Memphis or Nubia?

One has thought of Akhenaten as a man who raised

his eyes to heaven erecting the dreamer's lofty structures as a tribute to his god. There has been an inclination formed for taking the Akhenaten age as an accidental, evanescent episode of Egyptian history, its monuments being coulisses and splendid facades for a dramatic interludium staged by some few extatic persons. But it has been too easy to forget that there must have been a firm hold on the entire development and administration, a forceful will and a practical mind behind the entire stage. Now, since more and more monuments emerge by help of the archaeologists it is rather fair to name Akhenaten one of the great builders of his dynasty. That his successors dismantled and destroyed his monuments reviving traditional and conservative ideas is only a testimony of their outstanding and original conception and execution being the concrete form of the ideas of one single person, one of those men we like to consider as a universal genius well acquainted with earthly as well as with heavenly matters.

¹ R. W. Smith, The Akhenaten Temple Project, Expedition 10, 1967, Nr 1, 24 ff. Idem, Computer helps scholars re-create an Egyptian temple, National Geographic Magazine 138, 1970, Nr 5, 634 ff. D. B. Redford, Studies on Akhenaten of Thebes, JARCE 10, 1973, 77 ff. Idem, Reconstructing the temples of a heretical pharaoh, Archaeology 28, 1975, Nr 1, 16 ff. S. Sauneron-R. Sa'ad, Le démontage et l'étude du IXe pylône à Karnak, Kêmi 19, 1969, 137 ff. Idem, Travaux au IXe pylône de Karnak en 1968-1970, Kêmi 21, 1971, 145 ff. L. Daniel, Reconstitution d'un paroi du temple d'Aton à Karnak, Kêmi 21, 1971, 151 ff.

² The catalogue of a recent exhibition in the Brooklyn Museum contains several of them: C. Aldred, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, New York 1973.

³ J. Cooney, Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, Mainz 1965. G. Roeder, Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis, Hildesheim 1969. B. Löhr, Aḥanjāti in Memphis, SAK 2, 1975, 139 ff.

⁴ A complete scene in an Amarna tomb shows three rows in front and three behind the chair proper, N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna 3, London 1905, pl. 13. Two blocks from Luxor show the same way of representing the heads of the men, A. Fakhry, Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor, ASAE 35, 1935, fig. 14. Cf. also R. Cotteville-Giraudet, Les reliefs d'Aménophis IV Akhenaton, FIFAO 13, Le Caire 1936, 32 and 53, further S. Sauneron-R. Sa'ad, op.cit., Kêmi 19, 1969, 161.

⁵ R. Cotteville-Giraudet, op.cit., 59, Nr 4207, further J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV, Paris 1964, 361 f. For the traces not clearly belonging to the headdress, cf. R.

Cotteville-Giraudet, op.cit., 59, Nr 6537: the feet of men kneeling above the carriers.

⁶ It is interesting to note the palanquin-scene in the tomb of Huya at Amarna, N. de G. Davies, op.cit., pl. 13, although there is nothing to indicate that this Stockholm fragment belongs to the preceding one.

⁷ Cf. the attention given to it by J. Samson, Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, London 1972, 16 f.

⁸ Previously reproduced in B. Peterson-B. George, Två faraoner. Arkeologi och historia kring Sesostri I och Tutanchamun, Borås 1973, 63.

⁹ A similar fragmentary scene where the raised arms are used to connect single figures in an interesting way: C. Aldred, op.cit., Nr 45.

¹⁰ N. de G. Davies, op.cit., II, 37, 38, 40, IV, pl. 6, 22.

¹¹ Previously reproduced in Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1973, Stockholm 1973, 154.

¹² E.g. D. B. Redford, Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, JARCE 10, 1973, pl. 6, 1-2. G. Roeder, op.cit., pl. 207 (PC 260). C. Aldred, op.cit., Nr 81. N. de G. Davies, op.cit. III, pl. 8, 30.

¹³ A parallel may be found in the title cited by M. Doresse, Les temples atoniens de la région thebaine, Orientalia 24, 1955, 113 ff.: "The great of seers of Aten in the House of Aten in Southern Heliopolis" (Inscriptions, pl. 2).

¹⁴ D. B. Redford, Reconstructing the temples of a heretical pharaoh, Archaeology 28, 1975, Nr 1, 18.

¹⁵ Idem, Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, JARCE 10, 1973, pl. 6, 1-2.

¹⁶ Cf. S. Sauneron-R. Sa'ad, op.cit. Kêmi 19, 1969, 155 f.

Three Egyptian Terracotta Heads from the Graeco-Roman Period

Suzanne Unge

There is as yet no monograph on terracotta figurines in Egypt and the fundamental problems connected with them, such as their chronology and stylistic evolution. Many European museums have important collections of this minor art,¹ but, with few exceptions,² their provenance is often unknown. The same can be said of several private collections.³ In Egypt the Graeco-Roman museum at Alexandria has a considerable number of terracotta figurines.⁴

With the first Greek settlement at Naukratis in Egypt in the seventh century B.C., the production of terracottas in Greek style was introduced on Egyptian soil. After the foundation of Alexandria in 331 B.C., this city soon became one of the artistic centres of the Hellenistic world. In the Greek cemeteries, e.g. Chatby and Hadra to the east of Alexandria, terracotta figurines of purely Greek style have been found. They represent draped women in Tanagra style and have been dated between the foundation of the city and c. 200 B.C.⁵ Gradually the Greek settlers and the Egyptians intermingled and a mixed Graeco-Egyptian art was created,⁶ which is reflected in the production of terracottas. From c. 200 B.C. and during the Roman Imperial period, Alexandria continued to be one of the main centres for the manufacture of terracotta figurines, but big provincial centres have also been found in Memphis and the Fayoum district. The products of Memphis are especially important as they form a large group of excavated material.⁷

Chemical analyses have been made of the clay of the figurines, and at least five types can be observed.⁸ These different kinds of clay can be referred to the main centres of production and thus may sometimes give an indication of the provenance.⁹ The majority of terracotta figurines were moulded, sometimes in combination with modelling by hand. This technique

was not new to the Egyptians; they used it in making figurines of fayence, e.g. *ushebtis* and amulets during Pharaonic times.¹⁰ Enough moulds for making terracottas have been found to distinguish them from those for making bronzes.¹¹ Hollow moulded terracottas, a form which was not native to Egypt, are more abundant than those moulded solid. For both types, the moulds are generally bipartite.¹² This is the case even when the back part only has a round surface.

The terracotta figurines are both of a sacred and a profane character. Their provenance is often sufficient to indicate the different categories to which they should be assigned. They may be votive images from sanctuaries, funeral objects from tombs, or household gods, adornments or toys from houses.¹³ The bounds of this classification are not always certain, and it seems as if some terracotta figurines have had several functions. This means that a terracotta, like a small ornamental figurine used in everyday life, may have come from a consecrated context.¹⁴

Among a group of terracotta figurines in the Egyptian Department of the *Medelhavsmuseet*, there are three heads, all of a strikingly realistic character. They are examples of a vast number of grotesque figurines, often with deliberately deformed features. Sometimes one can identify caricatures of different professions, such as dancers, actors and musicians.¹⁵ It is suggested that the place of origin of these grotesques was either Alexandria or Smyrna, on account of the large quantity of grotesque figurines found there.¹⁶ Some scholars have argued that several of these figurines illustrate some kind of disease or anatomical defect.¹⁷ They are also considered to be votive images for recovery from sickness, sacrificed by the sick person himself or his parents.¹⁸ This conflicts with the circumstance that these figurines have



1-2. MM 10078.

for the most part been found in houses.¹⁹ Some of these "medical" figurines may have been apotropeic and have served as amulets.²⁰

The heads described below, (numbered MME 1973:4 and MME 1973:5) were acquired in Cairo and Luxor respectively in 1967, while MM 10078 was given by a private collector in 1932. There is no information as to their provenance.

MM 10078 (Figs. 1-3). Terracotta head of a woman. The height is 8 cm. The head was moulded and made hollow. The clay is dark brown, with a lustrous slip of the same colour. The thickness of the clay walls is 0.7 cm at the neck. On the hair, small traces of pink colour still remain. The neck is smoothly terminated, showing no break. The head is well preserved, except for some damage on the right-hand side of the nose and on the neck.

The shape of the head is remarkably prolonged and narrow; this is accentuated even more by the high-piled, conical hairstyle. The eyes are small, with the

pupils indicated. The eyelids are thick, and beneath the eyes there is a tendency to oedema. The eyebrows are knitted, which makes the forehead low and furrowed. The nose is hooked and has extraordinarily broad wings, and the tip seems to be pushing the upper lip down, giving an impression of a hare-lip. The mouth is lopsided and has a thick under lip and deep corners. On the chin and cheeks, small cavities seem to have been deliberately made. The ears are not modelled, but a round bulge of clay may be interpreted as representing ear-rings. The hair is complicated to analyse, since the broad part along the joint is just smoothed, and the back is only modelled with some incised lines. Coils of hair are combed backwards and end in a knot. Along the temples, small curls are falling down. On the crown, the hair is piled high and rather pointed, with a round ornament in the middle of the front.²¹

Although the features of this head are quite irregular and coarse, the hairstyle probably indicates that it is meant to represent a woman. Among the terra-



3. MM 10078.

cotta figurines at the Graeco-Roman museum in Alexandria, there is a head that strikingly resembles the head presented here. The features seem identical, and the height is stated to be the same, 8 cm (Fig. 4).²² The provenance of the "Alexandria" head is not known, but the head itself is referred to the provincial type, which in this case means that it may have come from the Fayoum district, and has been dated roughly in the Roman Imperial period. It can be assumed that the two heads were manufactured in the same workshop, though it is still uncertain if they came from the same mould.

It is tempting to attribute to this woman, as many scholars have often done,²³ a non-Egyptian nationality.²⁴ In the foreign quarters in Memphis, the excavator, Flinders Petrie, found several terracotta heads of different origins,²⁵ and it is interesting to note that very few heads of foreign women can be identified. In

Memphis, too, workshops have been found for terracotta figurines of a very high quality.²⁶ Often they have a lustrous slip of the same colour as the clay, as is the case also with the head under discussion. These very scrupulously worked terracottas are generally dated to the Ptolemaic period,²⁷ and, as regards this female head, it seems reasonable to ascribe to it an approximate date in the two first centuries B.C.

MME 1973:4 (Figs. 5-7). Terracotta head of a man. The height is 4.4 cm. The head was moulded, the back part only following the outline of the skull. It was made hollow. The clay is brown, with grey and white particles. The thickness of the clay wall where the neck breaks off is c. 0.9 cm. The neck breaks off obliquely, and the main part of the nose is damaged.

The shape of the head is dolichocephalic and the man is shown totally bald. He has a high forehead with three deep furrows. The eyes are asymmetrical, the left being a little higher than the right. Both are framed with thick eyelids. No pupils are indicated. The scanty

4. Terracotta head in Alexandria. (After Breccia, *Terracotte figurate*, nr 564).





5-7. MME 1973:4.

8-10. MME 1973:5.



remains of the nose show that it was broad, and the same can also be said of the mouth. The lips are extremely thick and the corners of the mouth are drooping. The upper lip is slightly oblique, which gives the man a cynical expression. The positions of the ears are indicated by bulges of clay. The cheek-bones are high, and both cheeks and chin are dimpled.

The break at the neck shows that this head belonged to a small figurine, but on account of the lack of any chronological clues, it is impossible to give a specific date. Like the majority of terracotta figurines of coarse brown clay, often called "Nile mud", this small grotesque may be a provincial work produced some time during the Roman Imperial period.

MME 1973:5 (Figs. 8-10). Terracotta head of a woman. The height is 7.5 cm. The head was moulded and is hollow. The back part is slightly concave and prolonged and pinched by hand. Through this part, a hole was made, probably for the purpose of suspension.²⁸ The clay is reddish, with small traces of white colour at the back. There are also some precipitations of salt crystals. The thickness of the clay wall is c. 0.5 cm at the neck. The front part of the neck is smoothly terminated, with damage on the left-hand side. Otherwise the head is very well preserved.

The face is finely modelled to give this woman her characteristics. It is furrowed all over. Only a pointed part of the front is seen under a voluminous hair.

The eye-brows are knitted, which gives the front a deep wavy furrow. The large oval eyes are framed by thick eyelids and no pupils are incised. The mouth is half-open with a thick protruding under lip. The mouth is oblique, with the right-hand corner drooping, which gives her a discontented, or even suffering expression. The ears are simplified without being modelled.

The most striking part of this head is her coiffure, which indicates that it is meant to represent a woman. The hair of the front part seems to be built up of three sections. The back part has deep incised lines, radiating from the centre. In front, a parting divides the hair, which is combed backwards. On the crown, six rows of small curls fall down like an ornament.

Fanciful coiffures like this are a common feature of a large number of terracotta heads dating from the beginning of Roman Imperial times.²⁹ The most complicated coiffures can be seen, especially on a series of female heads from the Fayoum district.³⁰ Some are probably built up with the aid of perukes and garlands.³¹ These different types of hair may show the changing hair fashions of the Roman lady, and this may sometimes help to date the terracotta head.³² Coiffures resembling the typical Flavian hair fashion can be identified, but, according to Vogt, the coiffure of the head under discussion was in Rome first used in the third century A.D.³³

¹ *Geneva*: W. Deonna, *Terres cuites gréco-égyptiennes*, *Revue Archéologique* 20, Paris 1924. *Copenhagen*: V. Schmidt, *De graesk-ægyptiske Terrakotter i Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, Copenhagen 1911. M. Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Copenhagen 1930. *Leiden*: W. D. van Wijngaarden, *De grieks-egyptische terracotta's in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen Suppl. N. R. XXXIX*, Leiden 1958. *Berlin*: W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, *Koenigl. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1914. H. Philipp, *Terrakotten aus Ägypten*, Berlin 1972.

² *Frankfurt*: C.-M. Kaufmann, *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik*, Leipzig 1915. (The majority come from the Fayoum district.)

³ E.g. P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy 1921. P. Ghalioungui and G. Wagner, *Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine de la collection P. Ghalioungui*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen arch. Instituts abt. Kairo*, 30.2, Mainz 1974. J. Vogt, *Expedition E. von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria II.2. Terrakotten*, Leipzig 1924. (This collection was divided between the museums of Dresden, Stuttgart and Tübingen.)

- ⁴ E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, *Monuments de l'Egypte gréco-romaine*, II, 1-2, Bergamo 1930-1934.
- ⁵ R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, London 1967, p. 130.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- ⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis I*, *BSAE* 15, London 1909, the *Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, *BSAE* 17, London 1909, W. M. F. Petrie, G. Wainwright, E. Mackay, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, *BSAE* 18, London 1910.
- ⁸ Breccia II, 1, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-23.
- ⁹ P. Graindor, *Terres cuites de L'Egypte Gréco-Romaine*, Antwerp 1939, p. 17.
- ¹⁰ Philipp, *op.cit.*, p. 6.
- ¹¹ Cf. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, Cairo 1903.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ¹³ Graindor, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ¹⁵ Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 132. Cf. Weber, *op.cit.*, Taf. 30-31.
- ¹⁶ Higgins, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
- ¹⁷ E.g. Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-169, Pls. CVIII-CXIX, Ghalioungui and Wagner, *op.cit.*, p. 175.
- ¹⁸ Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, p. XV.
- ¹⁹ Graindor, *op.cit.*, p. 37, Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 54.
- ²⁰ Graindor, *op.cit.*, pp. 38 and 50.
- ²¹ For a similar ornament, see Ghalioungui and Wagner, *op.cit.*, Taf. 64:c.
- ²² Cf. Breccia, II, 2, *op.cit.*, p. 56, Pl. XCIX, 564. The head is

referred to a group of heads, identified as those of farmers or slaves, wearing high conical hats. To me it is evident that in both no. 564 and the Stockholm head the hair has a conical form.

²³ E.g. Deonna, *op.cit.*, pp. 98-99, Kaufmann, *op.cit.*, p. 140, Taf. 51.

²⁴ In the collection of Dr. Fouquet, there is a head described as an old Jewish woman, which resembles the head under discussion. See Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, Pl. CXVII:512.

²⁵ Petrie, *Memphis I*, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-17, Pls. XXXV-XLIV, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-18, Pls. XXVIII-XXXIV, Petrie, Wainwright, Mackay, Meydum and Memphis III, *op.cit.*, p. 46, Pls. XLII-XLVI.

²⁶ Graindor, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁸ It may be possible, that this head has been a part of a lamp. Among the many terracotta lamps found at Herakleopolis Magna, some have figure handles for example of a boy's head. See W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya*, London 1905, Pl. LVII:12.

²⁹ E.g. Mogensen, *op.cit.*, p. 40, Pl. XXXIX, Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 67, Taf. XIX, LXIII-LXV, and XCIII.

³⁰ Kaufmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 141-143, Taf. 52.

³¹ Breccia, II, 2, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

³² Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 68, Deonna, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

³³ Vogt, *op.cit.*, p. 68, Taf. LXIV, especially no. 3 (Stuttgart), which resembles the Stockholm head in the way which the hair is arranged.

A Head of Sarapis in Stockholm

Cecilia Beer

In 1968 the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, acquired a head of Sarapis (MME 1968:1) from an art dealer in Holland. Its provenance is said to be Oxyrhynchos in Middle Egypt.¹ The head is carved in a soft limestone frequent in that area² and its height is c. 27 cm.

The head is damaged in several places. The nose is missing (now repaired), together with the left-hand end and upper right-hand part of the moustache and a piece above the left-hand corner of the mouth, and parts of the locks on the forehead, of which the second from the left is entirely missing. The hair on the sides of the head is partly damaged, the left-hand side being, on the whole, better preserved than the right.

The most impressive features of the head are the big eyes, which gaze slightly upwards and to the left. They are set in a narrow, somewhat triangular face. The stone is deeply incised between hair and face, and this underlines the shape of the face, embedded in thick hair and a big beard. The execution of the eyes is crude. They are nevertheless expressive, owing to the large ovals where the torus-shaped eye-lids hang over a quarter of the iris, which is left free on the eye-ball like an island. The pupils of the eyes were incised with a chisel; the right-hand one is nearly a full circle and the left is segment-shaped.

The mouth is half open, with no teeth visible and a short moustache, the right-hand end of which curls upwards. I shall come back to the direction of the left-hand end in discussing the canon. The forehead is smooth, without wrinkles, and, when seen from the side, protrudes over the eyes. There are no distinct eyebrows. On the forehead there were probably four or possibly five separate locks of hair. It is difficult to tell whether the now damaged lock on the right-hand

side of the head originally fell down on the forehead or was just the short end of the bigger mass of hair. Above these locks there is a second parallel row of three other independent locks.³ The treatment of the hair is rather careless. It is merely the surface of the hair that is worked and the locks are only accentuated parts of the mass of hair. The locks on the forehead do not stand out at all from the underlying stone. The work is more relief-like and is remote from the elaborate examples in which the broken-off locks of hair only leave *puntelli* on the forehead as the sole traces of their previous existence. Here, the hair on the sides is only marked as long, wavy strands. The more distant from the face the hair is situated, the more careless the treatment becomes, so that it is hardly noticeable on the back of the head. The back was evidently hidden and was not intended to show. This was a familiar practice in the long Egyptian tradition of sculpture where the front mattered most.

The beard is not very carefully executed either. On the surface, each curl has become a thick roll, which in most cases terminates with a drill-hole in the middle. There is no apparent division of the beard into two halves, a typical feature of the more carefully worked heads of Sarapis.⁴ No part of the beard has been worked free from the stone. The impression it gives is that of a compact mass. Especially when seen from the side, the beard and the solid neck together form a lump. Here the block of stone has been left practically unworked.

There are no drill-holes in the hair, as distinguished from the beard, except in one curly lock above the middle of the face and just below the *taenia*. Some other smaller holes may only be natural cavities in the stone, as also in the case of the hole on the left temple. I cannot see what function a drill-hole would have on





the left temple, unless it was placed there by accident.

On the head there are no big holes for attachment, either on the skull, where normally the *calathus* was placed (indicated here by its lower part the *taenia*), or under the neck. At least the back of the skull, which slopes sharply downwards, has a rather level surface. There does not seem to be a fracture surface on the under side of the neck either. The reason for this lack of signs of attachment is presumably that the head was made separately for fitting into a body or insertion in a niche, into which it fitted neatly.

The identification of Sarapis is clear from the *taenia* on the head, while the *calathus* is missing. Following W. Hornbostel's division of Sarapis representations into two main groups, the "Anastoletypus" and the "Fransentypus", according to the hairstyle, the present head must be assigned to the latter group.³

The images of the first group, the anastole type, are characterized by upraised strands of hair above the forehead (ἀναστολή) and are considered to be copies or adaptations of the original Hellenistic cult statue at



the Sarapeum in Alexandria, the anastole being a reflection of the hairstyle in the portraits of Alexander the Great.⁶

The second group—translating Hornbostel's "Fransentypus" by "lock type"—goes back to the Alexandrian cult statue of the Roman period, according to L. Castiglione and others,⁷ whereas Hornbostel considers it to be typical of the original Hellenistic statue.⁸ This lock type had the hair arranged in, presumably, five undulant strands or locks on the forehead.⁹ It was also this type that was to become canonical.¹⁰

The most frequent representation of Sarapis, and also that of both cult statues at the Sarapeum in Alexandria, is the image of a seated god of dignified Greek appearance, a father-god type, such as Zeus, Asklepios or Dionysos.¹¹ He is wearing both a tunic-like chiton and a loose-fitting himation, with a basket-shaped calathus on his head. The left hand is raised to hold a spear or a sceptre and the right rests on the three-headed Cerberus.¹² The images of this enthroned god, as reflected in numerous reproductions (and reproductions of reproductions) of the most ancient statue, then developed in two directions, distinguished by the hairstyle.¹³ Whether it is the question of an anastole or a lock type, they both have a thick beard and a moustache. On most examples the moustache curls up at the left end and down at the right.¹⁴ In the case of the Stockholm head, the right-hand end of the moustache curls up, while the left-hand end is missing. To my knowledge, there is no head in existence or else it is very rare, in which the scheme is the opposite to that mentioned above, i.e. the right-hand end of the moustache curls up and the left-hand end curls down. If this first rule is not followed, the most common is a moustache in which both ends curl up symmetrically, though there is a rare example in which both ends curl down.¹⁵ Accordingly, the Stockholm head ought to have such a moustache, with both ends arranged alike, i.e. curling upwards. However, on the left-hand side, where a piece is missing, there is a drill-

hole placed markedly below the level of the drill-hole on the right-hand end. This may indicate that the end of the moustache curled down at this side, in which case this may be a very rare example in which the left end curls down and not the right, but the drill-hole may also belong to a possible curl at this place.

We need not take into consideration here the complex problem of when exactly the respective hairstyles appeared for the first time, as it seems that they occurred in parallel¹⁶ and that in any case the lock type, with which we are here concerned, was the more frequent during the Roman period.¹⁷

If the original cult statue of Sarapis in Alexandria was a Greek work, there is nothing Greek about the present head. The deep cutting between face and hair, with its light-and-shade effect so typical of the Antonine period, gives a clue for the dating of the head only as a *terminus post quem*. Other criteria of style, such as the narrowness of the face and its triangular and asymmetrical shape, frequently occur in heads of Sarapis over a long period of time, from the second century to about 300 A.D. Around this date, the forms of sculpture harden to a stiff stylization, but of this frozen formalism there is not the least trace in the present head. Instead we can observe how the canonical typology still survives, although the execution is negligent and other late stylistic changes are obvious. Especially in the big, expressive yet meditative eyes there are strong reminiscences of the Roman transcendental look. The overall impression given by this frontal and passive face of indeterminable age is that it must have been produced in a local workshop, where the quality of the carving differed greatly from that of Alexandria, Rome or the Italian region.¹⁸

The hazards involved in precisely dating provincial works from outside Alexandria have been pointed out by Hornbostel, because of the tendency to retardation in the provinces.¹⁹ Bearing this in mind, the Stockholm head cannot be preliminarily dated more exactly than the middle of the third century A.D.

¹ Art dealer's information. For other Sarapis representations allegedly from Oxyrhynchus, see G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments, in *Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* (EPRO), 36, Leiden, Brill, 1973, p. 19.

² This information was given me by Dr. Bengt Peterson, Director of the Egyptian Department of the Medelhavsmuseet, to whom I also wish to express my thanks for facilitating my work in every way.

³ This second row of locks occurs so frequently, in fact in

most examples and even in provincial reproductions of inferior quality, that it must be a feature characteristic of the original cult statue. Cf. W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, in *EPRO*, 32, Leiden, Brill, 1973, p. 81.

⁴ For a discussion of the arrangement of the beard of the canonical Sarapis, see T. Kraus, *Sarapiskopf aus Oxyrhynchos*, *JdI*, LXXV (1960), pp. 88–99, esp. pp. 91–95.

⁵ Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, for "Anastoletypus", see Chap. 5, p. 133, and for "Fransentypus", Chap. 6, 207. However, other scholars introduced this division before Hornbostel. Especial mention should be made of L. Castiglione, *La statue du culte hellénistique du Sarapieion d'Alexandrie*, *Bulletin du Musée national hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 12, 1958, pp. 17–39.

⁶ For ἀναστολή, see T. Hölscher, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Grossen*, Diss., Heidelberg, 1971, p. 25.

Hornbostel (*op.cit.*, p. 133) admits the undeniable influence of Alexander's portraits but also points to other sources, such as images of Zeus, Asklepios, and Poseidon.

⁷ Cf. Castiglione, *op.cit.*, p. 34. N. Reynolds (*New Archaeological Evidence for the Iconography of Sarapis*, Diss. 1948) takes the same view. I have not seen the work myself, but her

conclusions are briefly reported by Hornbostel (*op.cit.*, pp. 10–11).

⁸ Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

⁹ Kraus, *op.cit.*, p. 91: "Es sind fünf an der Zahl und das ist die Regel". Cf. Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁰ Castiglione, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

¹¹ For a discussion of the origin of the cult of Sarapis and the controversial question of the date when the original Hellenistic cult statue was erected, see P. M. Fraser, *Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World*, *Op.Ath.* III (1960), pp. 1–54, and *idem*, *Current Problems concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis*, *Op.Ath.* VII (1967), pp. 23–45, and J. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, in *EPRO*, 25, Leiden, Brill, 1973, pp. 6–13. For the development of research and discussion, see also Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, "Einführung", pp. 1–31.

¹² Stambaugh, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹³ Castiglione, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ Stambaugh, *op.cit.*, p. 14; Kraus, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁵ Hornbostel, *op.cit.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, no. 222a.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 291.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 393.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 278.

The Sole Heracles

Notes on an Attic Black-figure Olpe

Torsten Hild

The vase, now behind glass at the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, does not produce a sensation. Most collections contain examples of more magnificent Greek pottery, but the plain shape and uncomplicated decoration of this creation has an attractiveness of its own which is probably appreciated by both scholars and amateurs. The observer will also find motives for reflection upon Greek pottery development at the time when Attic Black-figure had passed its zenith and the red-figure technique started its progress.

Facts

As a beginning I will call attention to the late King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden and his wellknown ability to appreciate interesting products from ancient pottery workshops. Our vase was acquired at an art dealer in Rome and then presented by the King to the Medelhavsmuseet. This happened in 1969. Nothing more is known about its provenance. Inventory No. MM 1969:14.

In *shape* the vase is an oinochoe of the variant called *olpe*. The ovoid body has a slender contour with a continuous curve turning over from the base to a splaying neck and a horizontal mouth with turned-out rim. There are no trefoil lips, but the mouth is strengthened at both sides of the handle. The latter is raised and also flanged. At the bottom, the body changes into an inverted 'echinus', a low and wide base-ring.

The walls are thin. Marks of restoration show that they have been broken. Thus, a distinct crack with ramifications runs straight across the decoration. There is some repainting.

Height: 19 cm. Width of the body: 12 cm.

The *decoration* has rather few components. The handle separates scrolls of palmette-stems. On the front side the scrolls frame the only human figure, a powerful Heracles. The hero is depicted with frontal upper body and profiled lower body. He runs from left to right in *Knielauf-style*¹ on an imaginary track (there is no base-line) with his left arm and leg drawn forwards—quite contrary to real life. The face is in profile, but with a frontal eye. The whole figure expresses a relentless energy. A specific mythological scene cannot be verified.

Heracles' clothing and outfit consist of a short chiton with dotted band, a lionskin (including the lionhead), a belt, a dotted quiver with six arrows, a bow without string, and a solid club of olive-tree type.

White colour is used on quiver and chiton edging—it is applied as dots, without accuracy, on both places. All other details of the hero are incised, mostly with good precision. The scrolls are painted in black. This colour is also used for the base-ring, the handle, the mouth and the inside of the neck. On all these places small areas of black are worn out.

The composition is very plain, there are no bands, circles or zones between base-ring and mouth. Only the Heracles figure and the two scrolls divide up the red background.

Aspects

The Attic vases underwent evolutionary changes, which is evident from the tendency from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. to make increasingly slender shapes. In this context it is interesting to note that existing designs were improved rather than altered to new types.² Our MM 1969:14 is a good exponent for



1. MM 1969:14

the transforming of plump vases into elegant shapes that occurred continuously during the sixth century.

The olpe, like the oinochoe, was developed as a pitcher for wine and other liquids. We can assume that primarily it was a household utensil. But often

it also was a product of fine art, an object for the potter's and painter's ambitions to create elegant shapes and expressive figure decorations. And these ambitions changed with times, which helps us to follow the stages of development and make assump-

tions about dating.

While investigating the existence of objects similar to our pitcher, I found that the olpe belongs to the minorities in the examined collections and literary presentations, notwithstanding the fact that this type of vase was a common pouring vessel with traditions from early Attic Black-figure.³ There are, however, a sufficient number of examples, which give us opportunity to select and point at interesting objects.

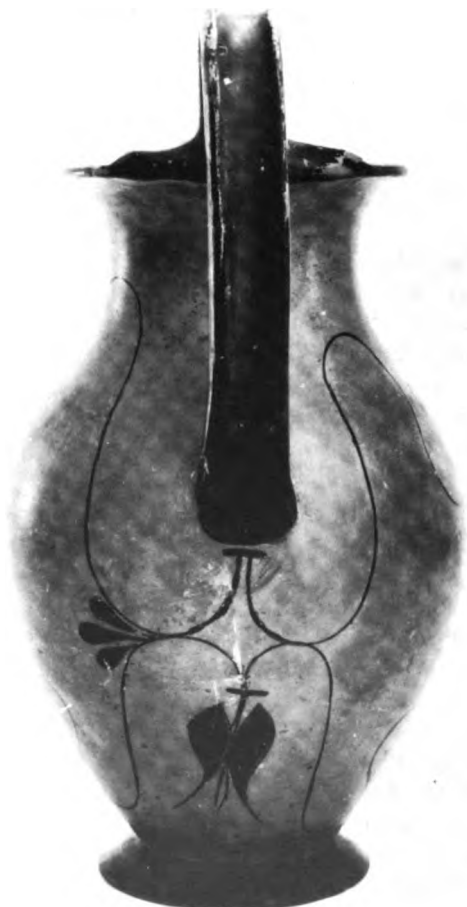
In the following examples all comparisons refer to shape, not to decoration, which will be dealt with further on.

At once I will point out that I have not found another olpe with certain affinity to MM 1969:14. Compared with a number of well-shaped and well-known vases created by the potters behind names as the Gorgon Painter, the Amasis Painter, Exekias and Nikosthenes,⁴ MM 1969:14 is slighter and more

2-3. MM 1969:14.

elongated. It is more narrow-necked and has a smaller base. There is some relationship with British Museum B 620, which is an oinochoe from Vulci. This has a rounded but slender belly and a base similar to that of our olpe. It may also be compared with Metropolitan (New York) 46.11.7, by J. Boardman described as an oinochoe by the Painter of London B 620.⁵ But, these two vases have quite different necks plus plastic female heads at the junction of the handles.

When we survey the pattern of shapes concentrating on the decades when the above-mentioned artists were active, we must consider the transition to more and more slender forms during the last decades of the sixth century. About 510 this trend changed⁶—the robust forms became modern again. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston possesses an olpe attributed to the Daybreak Painter, a vase which is a good example of the new course.⁷ It has a slim body, but a high thick



lip like a heavy 'echinus'. The Daybreak Painter belonged to the Leagros Group (ca 520–500 B.C.).

My suggestion is that MM 1969:14 ought to be placed between the period of Exekias and that of the Daybreak Painter.

Does the decoration support this suggestion?

After the first decades of Attic Black-figure technique the painters concentrated more and more on isolated scenes with large figures, often at the expense of ornaments. These were reduced to a few standard motifs.⁸ Towards the end of the sixth century this refinement had become highly developed. Regarding MM 1969:14, the figure of Heracles responds to this trend and so do the ornaments. Note the special feature of the olpe, the free background running from base to lip without the usual inclusions of lotus, zones of rays, etc. As a whole, the decoration and the composition is an extreme simplification.

What about the one-figure idea in general? It can be noted that collections and literature have good examples from the late sixth century and a considerable period onwards. Lekythoi and Panathenaic amphoras were often one-figure products. One-figure oinochoai and olpai are rare as far as I can judge of the available material. A squat oinochoe from the early fifth century has a sole figure against a free background like MM 1969:14. It has a certain resemblance to our vase, even if the shape is plump. The vase belongs to the Gallatin Collection in USA.⁹

My thoughts also go to an oinochoe in the Scheurleer Museum¹⁰ in the Hague which presents a sole running warrior, who carries out his rush without support of other details. He is drawn against a free background like the figure in the Gallatin Collection.

The common tendency to simplify is apparent, but an additional reason may be that the painters were forced to employ one-figure arrangements because of the diminishing size of the vases. J. D. Beazley mentions that most black-figure vases became smaller up to the first quarter of the fifth century.¹¹

Another feature is the runner formed like a swastika. It is perhaps possible that the round areas on kylikes, shallow cups, etc.¹² stimulated the painters to compose circular figures like our Heracles. The literature abounds with such compressed figures. But we must also remember that the special Knielauf-style signifies energy, that it is a manifestation of power intended to inspire respect. Probably the style originates from the East. Eduard Schmidt has presented an extensive and profound survey in his essay "Der Knielauf und die

Darstellung des Laufens und Fliegens in der älteren griechischen Kunst" (Münchener archäologische Studien, München 1909). Anyhow, the Knielauf-style was gradually abandoned during the last quarter of the sixth century.¹³ This may speak against my suggestion that MM 1969:14 was produced at the end of the century. There are proofs which show that the change had its exceptions. One example, which has the additional advantage of having a Heracles fairly like our own, can be studied in the Museo Nazionale, Firenze.¹⁴ Here the hero is represented in the shoulder-zone fighting with amazons. As to the rest the vase displays some carriage scenes. It is true that the Florentine Heracles has a less genuine Knielauf-style, but I think it is sufficient enough to support the argumentation. The piece in Firenze is a large fragment from a hydria related to the Leagros Group.

An isolated figure of a runner is also represented on British Museum No. 64 10–7 156.¹⁵ This vase, an amphora from ca 550–525 B.C., was found at Fikellura, Rhodes, and belongs to the Archaic East Greek pottery. Fikellura has given name to a special group with Rhodes and Samos as dominating localities. In mainland Greece and further West this ware is very rare. In general the Fikellura painters maintained their own style characterized by the figures being set against a free background and by volutes, crescents and lotus sometimes in several rows.¹⁶ There may be a small possibility that the painter of our Heracles has seen a Fikellura one-figure vase and thus has received inspiration. In my opinion this chance is very small, but I will mention the matter as I know that comparisons have been made.

Another question, perhaps peripheral but interesting, is the physiognomical aspect. Why does Heracles run with such relentless energy and why does he look so grim? Generally, we have good reasons for associating him with display of strength and combat—his only quiet moments are at his apotheosis or when he appears with his patroness Athena. At least in black-figure production! J. Boardman touches upon the propagandistic effects of vase-painting.¹⁷ A grim expression could be intended to make people feel meek, and to consider what it means that Heracles' patroness is Athena, the city goddess of Athens. The display of the powerful hero may have strengthened people's respect for the city and its deeds.

I will mention that the Leagros Group had Heracles as a favourite and also that some of the members made their figures lively and grim with a touch of

brutality. This is perhaps of interest. Typical for one of the artists in the Leagros Group are the long trunk-like noses of his figures.¹⁸ In this respect one can find almost precise parallels to our Heracles.

As stated in the foregoing, MM 1969:14 has some ornaments—palmette scrolls—on both sides of the handle. This type of ornament seems to be very common during the late sixth century. Fig. 3 shows the pattern. It was often used by the Antimenes Painter and the Acheloos Painter and the artists around them. The latter painter belonged to the Leagros Group, which may explain why this special pattern is so often found in its production.¹⁹

Conclusions

The little olpe here discussed is a fine piece of art and this holds true for shape as well as composition.

In my opinion the best parallels to MM 1969:14, both as regards the shape and the decoration, are found among the vases in the Leagros Group, as my preceding discussion shows. There is no signature to guide us. (According to Beazley²⁰ the lack of signatures is a typical feature of the Leagros Group. Vases belonging to it are found in very large numbers, but only half-a-dozen black-figured objects have inscriptions.)

The vase can probably be dated to 520–500 B.C. We have seen many details pointing in that direction: Proceeding changes of shape, simplification of scenes and composition, increasingly careless painting (e.g. the white parts) which characterizes the late sixth century black-figure production.

Abbreviations

ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> , 1956.
Boardman	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases</i> , London 1974.
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
Dev	J. D. Beazley, <i>The Development of Attic Black Figure</i> , 1951.
Hoppin	J. C. Hoppin, <i>A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases</i> , Paris 1924.
Richter	G. Richter, <i>A Handbook of Greek Art</i> , London 1969.

¹ Boardman, 199.

² Richter, 323.

³ Boardman, 187. Oinochoai (incl. olpai).

⁴ ABV, *Manner of the Gorgon Painter*, 11, British Museum B 32.

ABV, 9, British Museum B 33.

Hoppin, 43, British Museum B 52. Olpe attr. to Amasis.

Hoppin, 32–33, British Museum B 471. Olpe attr. to Amasis. See also ABV 153, 32.

E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, vol. III, Fig. 257, British Museum B 620. Oinochoe.

Hoppin, 216, *Cab. des Médailles*, Paris, 258. Olpe. Nikosthenes. See also CVA pl 48, 1–3, 7.

Hoppin, 36, *Louvre*, Paris, F 30. Olpe attr. to Amasis.

⁵ Boardman, pl. 230, *Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 46.11.7. Oinochoe. *The Painter of London B 620*. See also ABV 434,3.

J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, London 1966, Fig. 223.

⁶ Boardman, 185. General transition from slender to robust forms.

⁷ Boardman, 114, pl. 232, *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 03.783. Olpe. *The Daybreak Painter*.

⁸ Richter, 323.

⁹ CVA, U.S.A., *Gallatin Collection*, fasc. 8, 1942, pl. 42,7.

¹⁰ CVA, Pays-Bas, *Scheurleer Museum*, fasc. 1, 1927, III H e, pl. 4, 6.

¹¹ Dev, 87.

¹² Dev, pl. 22.

¹³ Boardman, 199.

¹⁴ CVA, Italia, *Museo Nazionale*, Firenze, 94322, fasc. XLII, 1969, Tav. 35. See also ABV, 364, No. 60.

¹⁵ Hirmer-Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, 1962, pl. 30.

¹⁶ R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 1960, 85–86, 123, pl. 19.

E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, 1940, 32, pl. 105.

¹⁷ Boardman, 216, 221.

¹⁸ Dev, 82.

¹⁹ T. Rönne-Linders, *A Black-figured Neck-Amphora of the Leagros Group*, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* No. 3, 1963, 54–63. Ornaments.

²⁰ Dev, 81.

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Two Late Attic Black-figured Vases

Charlotte Scheffer

In 1968 two Attic black-figured vases, a hydria (MM 1968:123) and a neck-amphora (MM 1968:122) were given to the *Medelhavsmuseet* by King Gustaf VI Adolf. They are both good examples of late black-figure vase-painting. One may feel inclined to think that vases in the old technique more or less disappeared with the coming of the new red-figure style, but it is a fact that black-figured vases continued to be made and continued to be popular well into the fifth century B.C., and the Panathenaic amphorae, though, as we know, usually painted by red-figure artists, even longer. Painters of late black-figure were often good, seldom brilliant, mostly not so good, preferring to work in an old and well-known tradition rather than trying any "new-fangled" ideas.

The *hydria* (Figs. 1–6) is the earlier of the two vases. The height to the rim is 44.6 cm (incl. the handle 49.3 cm), the diameter of the base 22.5 and of the mouth 15.0 cm.

The vase has been restored from several fragments and repainted in places. The pictures are fairly well preserved except for the figure furthest to the right in the main field, whose upper part is rather damaged as seen from the abrupt fall of her wrap on the right side. The red line following the pleats here has not been restored. The white is generally very badly preserved.

The glaze of the vase has misfired, especially outside the pictures, and has a mottled appearance and a slight yellowish green tint.¹

The shape is the one usual in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., with a disk foot, an elongated body, an almost horizontal shoulder, and a well set-off neck. The vertical handle with a central rib and lateral plates seems to have a metal prototype.²

The main colour of the hydria is black. The ground colour of the vase is visible only as the background for the pictures, one on the body, the other on the shoulder, and for a band of rays rising from a red band at the join of foot to body, and in a thin line on the mouth inside the raised rim. Otherwise the vase is only left unpainted where it was difficult to reach or not considered necessary to paint it, as under the foot, inside the handles, on the underside of the rim, and inside the body of the vase.

The main picture is bordered below by a panel with palmettes turned sideways with interconnected stems, an ornament typical of late black-figured hydria.³ Below this again two circumferential red lines are to be found. On the sides the picture is bordered by two stylized ivy tendrils in panels. A simple black line divides the two pictures. Above the shoulder scene there is a tongue pattern in red and black. There are no incisions in the ornamental decoration.

The main picture shows a man and a young woman wrestling, obviously *Peleus and Thetis*. Peleus, a strong, young man, is seen in profile. His curly hair falls in four locks in front of his ears and in longer, thicker locks or tresses down his back. The upper part of his body is bare, the lower draped in his himation. The bands round his ankles serve to fasten wings, here hidden by the girls' dresses but known from other vases.⁴ He is leaning forward, grabbing Thetis in a compositionally old and very unrealistic manner.

Thetis is unsuitably dressed for the occasion in an ankle-length, pleated garment, girdled at the waist with part of the dress falling over the belt. She is well combed, her long hair kept in place by a fillet or small diadem. She is moving to the right away from Peleus. Her hands raised in fright, she looks desper-



1. MM 1968:123.

ately for help to the pantheress which is attacking Peleus from behind, biting his shoulder. Like many sea divinities Thetis had the gift of being able to change herself into all kinds of things and animals when threatened,⁵ and this is the way the archaic artist chose to depict this rather complicated fact.

On either side there is a female companion of Thetis, a nereid. They are on their way out of the picture, away from the dangerous proximity of the man, but are turning round, dramatically showing their dread and wonder. They are dressed in the same type of thin pleated dress. Over their shoulders are draped wraps with long flaps hanging down. Their long hair, with one lock falling free, is adorned with a red fillet.

All over the background the usual late black-figure tree is nervously twisting its branches. It is painted last of all as is natural since it had to fill all areas left undecorated by the figures. Some of its branches and some of the women's hands intrude upon the shoulder field above.

2. MM 1968:123.



Red is used for the fillets and for pleats and dots on the dresses, white for female skin, incisions for embroideries and pattern on the dresses as in the shoulder field.

The shoulder field is the place for *Herakles' fight with the Nemean lion*. The hero is nude, with short hair and beard. He has obtained a firm foothold on the groundline and holds the lion in a deadly embrace. His grip, showing only the fingertips of his left hand, is more naturalistic than the one of Peleus below, which shows the arm to above the elbow. The lion is a lean, shaggy, long-legged animal, roaring with pain and lashing its long S-shaped tail. Above the sword, club, cloak, quiver and bow of Herakles hang in the air.

This type of the lion fight with the two combatants stretched out in an almost recumbent position was very popular for the shoulder field of hydriai, natural enough as it was very suitable for the long drawn-out shape of the field. The rest of the field was occupied by spectators, here to the left Athena, the protectress of heroes, and to the right Hermes, the eternal guide, both seated on foot-stools since they could not otherwise have been accommodated in the field. On a hydria in the British Museum Athena has even had to remove her helmet in order to get in.⁶ Here she has not bothered and her helmet intrudes on the tongue pattern above. She is dressed in a long chiton and a mantle wrapped round the right arm and hand holding the spear. Over the left arm hangs the aegis, hissing with snakes. Hermes is equipped as usual: petasos, kerykeion and winged shoes, a knee-long dress and a travelling-cloak. He has a short pointed beard and the hair in some kind of bun. He points at the fight with long archaic fingers.

Furthest out in the field on both sides there is a young boy, short-haired, dressed in a short chiton and carrying a club. The one to the left is somewhat smaller—the field is slightly narrower here—and wears a cuirass as well. The one to the right has a bow and a quiver suspended from the club. He points downwards with his left hand. It is not at all unusual that mere spectators are introduced to complete the picture or make it more symmetrical. One youngster is however to be expected and that is Iolaos, the nephew, friend and helper of Herakles. But who is who here? On an amphora in London Iolaos stands to the left and an unknown naked boy lacking attributes to the right.⁷ He is probably just a bystander, and the same goes for a hydria also in London, where Iolaos carries a club as a sign of identification.⁸ But here both carry a



3-4. MM 1968:123.



club. Are they Iolaos doubled, as Beazley says,⁹ or has the painter, thinking of Iolaos, but not specifying the figures, merely painted two assistants of Herakles for symmetrical reasons?

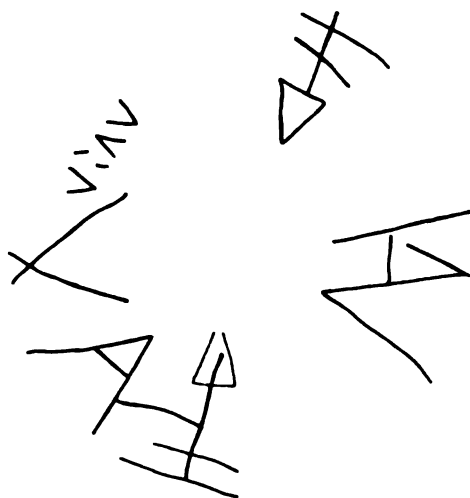
Slight traces of red are found in the mane of the lion, in the pleats of the dresses and on the crest of the helmet of Athena. Very faint traces of white seem to indicate the skin of Athena. Incisions are used for hair, also on the lion, and for the pattern of the aegis.

Under the foot of the vase there are several graffiti (Figs. 5-6), made after the firing. Two that are easy to read seem to be a ligature between lambda and eta in two slightly different variants. Two other ones are arrow-like signs. One of them is fairly clear, the other is very faint and seems at some stage to have been changed into one of the lambda-eta ligatures. A third type consists of lambda-ypsilon—two short dividing strokes—lambda and possibly something more. Two oblique lines crossing at one end, though very clear, are difficult to interpret and may be unintentional like several other scratches.

Mercantile inscriptions were first studied by Hackl and according to him they were probably notations made by the seller or the buyer concerning the price of a vase, or a tally figuring the total or the price of a batch of pottery, or they might be the signature of the purchaser.¹⁰ Amyx, developing a theory advanced by Hackl, suggests that the ligature may mean

le(kythos) and that such a vase was to be given free to the buyer of the large and thus probably expensive vase on which the ligature is found.¹¹ (Would this mean that ours, having two, was difficult to sell?) In this he is followed by Smith.¹² This is not quite so impossible as it sounds. The ligature is too common to be, in general, a mere numeral sign, and even if the free lekythos is a less likely explanation, the ligature may still mean lekythos. Recently Webster¹³ has shown himself disinclined to believe this theory and wants to see the ligature as the sign of the dealer who exported the vase, but this does not quite explain the doubling of the ligature on our and other vases, nor the fact that the two letters, written separately AH, seem to occur as the abbreviation of lekythos in normal tally formulas and in some instances seem, like the abbreviation AHKV, to be the equivalent of the ligature.¹⁴ Neither theory explains satisfactorily the variants of the ligature, which is sometimes written with an epsilon, sometimes with an eta. Lepsis, "received", as suggested by Miss D. M. Edwards in a Manchester dissertation of 1940,¹⁵ or some such word, is rather attractive and would explain the doubling of the ligature on our vase, if it for instance was sold twice. A thorough study of all new material that has collected since Hackl wrote his work is necessary before we can even attempt to reconstruct the full meaning of these and other graffiti.

5-6. MM 1968:123:Graffiti.



Of the other graffiti on the vase the arrow-like sign, almost always combined with the ligature,¹⁶ could be the price—12 of something (obols?) or possibly 2 D(rachmai), a suitable price for our hydria, since it is found only on very large vases which would command such a high price.¹⁷ The last graffito, consisting of several letters, is much smaller. It probably stands for a vase name ly(dion -dia) and the number (30?) of vases.

The painter of the hydria is a conscientious and sensitive artist although his figures are too much bound to a scheme. They are affected and posing as if taking part in a tableau and lack the dignity and deeper significance of early black-figure. This is more valid for the scene on the body. The small scene on the shoulder is more summarily and because of this perhaps also more naturalistically treated. The painter is a good artisan of a time when great masters were painting red-figure.

The hydria belongs in fact to the group in late black-figure named for Leagros who was "beautiful" in around 510-505¹⁸ and got his name on a lot of late sixth century vases, red- as well as black-figured. The black-figured vases along with several others form the Leagros Group,¹⁹ which is contemporary with Euphronios, Phintias and Euthymides, all members of the so called Pioneer Group. The black-figure vase-painters of the Leagros Group are not on a par with their red-figure coevals, but they are the last black-figure group of any importance.

The hydria is the favourite shape of the Leagros Group. Five of the six black-figured vases with his name are hydriai.²⁰ The general development was towards slenderer and more elegant shapes. Our hydria probably represents a fairly late stage with a rather light, narrowing shape. The vertical handle rises in a curve harmonizing with the vase. The hydria may very well come from the work-shop (or work-shops) which made the Lea-hydriai.²¹ Most of the vases from this work-shop belong in the Leagros Group, from which it has its name. The still vigorous lines in neck and shoulder and a certain sense for volume would however make it one of the earlier vases from this work-shop.

The graffiti under the foot also support the attribution to the Leagros Group. The above-mentioned inscriptions are found mostly on late sixth century black-figured vases from this group.²² The same almost are found on another vase from the group, a hydria in Munich.²³

That the hydria belongs to the Leagros Group is shown beyond doubt already when compared with such a famous member as the Ilioupersis-hydria in Würzburg.²⁴ We find a great similarity not only in the treatment of eyes, hair and dress but also in the theatrical gestures and the general atmosphere of unreality. In fact our vase must be no. 21 in Beazley's list of Leagros hydriai, there said to be on the Roman market.²⁵ It is attributed by Beazley to the Red-Line Painter,²⁶ who has his name from sometimes painting the lines bordering the ornamental bands below the pictures red instead of black. Most of his vases are small and rather insignificant neckamphorae,²⁷ but there are also a couple of larger, more carefully painted vases. It is through these he belongs to the Leagros Group. The hydria must be considered as one of his most important works.

The nearest comparison for our hydria is a neck-amphora in the Villa Giulia showing on one side Dionysos and Ariadne with two dancing satyrs and on the other again Peleus and Thetis wrestling.²⁸ We find the same composition although the panther and one nereid are gone. The execution is more careless, but we recognize the dress especially the himation of Peleus, wrapped round the lower part of his body in the same way with two flaps hanging down and a small triangular flap behind. The same similarity is found in anatomical details: knees, hands, the small knob indicating the wrist. Eyes and ears have a characteristic shape. The ears which look like two concentric circles seem to be typical of the painter. The profile of Peleus is more like our Herakles'. It is the same slightly concave nose, the protruding chin below a short lower lip, the hair drawn with short lines. The likeness to our Peleus is less striking but nevertheless there, and we cannot doubt that the same painter made the two vases.

We can also compare the hydria with another neck-amphora in the Faina collection in Orvieto.²⁹ On one side is Herakles with the lion, a favourite motif of the painter, on the other a wrestling-scene. The vase is fairly badly preserved, but there is enough to make sure the obvious likeness in the profile of Herakles, in other anatomical details, in the hang of the dress. Herakles is here grabbing the lion in the same unrealistic way as Peleus his Thetis on our hydria. Perhaps it was only in a secondary field as the one on the shoulder of a hydria, or on a simpler vase, that the painter could abandon the old traditional way of portraying the grip. The far more sturdy lion on the

amphora lifts one hind leg towards the head of Herakles. This is probably due to the fact that the amphora demanded a scene to fill a triangular field with the greatest width at the top, while the shoulder of a hydria wanted a long, narrow one, slightly broader at the bottom.

Most of the Red-Line Painter's vases are small and nonchalantly painted which make them difficult comparison material. One small neck-amphora in Madrid is rather more carefully painted.³⁰ One side shows a bearded man fighting a wild boar. This must be Herakles and the Erymanthian boar. On the other side is a younger man with the same kind of animal.³¹ This youngster, in particular, shows all the above-mentioned traits. The whole pose is the same although more compressed.

The Peleus-Thetis motif returns on a smaller vase in Copenhagen³² so negligently executed that one can only see a great likeness in the composition.

The second of the two vases given to the Museum in 1968 is a *neck-amphora* (Figs. 7-10, 12). It is of ordinary size, the height varying between 39.2 and 39.6 cm due to the fact that the whole vase is somewhat warped. The diameter of the base is 13.0 cm and of the mouth 16.7 cm. Except for some slighter damage the vase is intact and very well preserved. There is some incrustation on the neck. There seems to be no or little retouching.³³

The vase is a neck-amphora of the standardized type coming into use towards the end of the sixth century B.C. with a body higher than it is wide, tapering towards a torus foot, triple handles and an echinus-shaped mouth.³⁴

The ornamental decoration is also standard. Already during the third quarter of the sixth century the ornaments had developed into a necessary and systematized part of the decoration and in late black-figure they become even more stereotype and formalized.³⁵

Before being decorated the whole vase was covered with a solution of yellow ochre,³⁶ which was applied while the vase was being turned on the wheel as is shown by the circumferential brush-strokes on the body. This warm orange-red ground sets off the lustrous black glaze very effectively.

The foot is black, except the underside and a thin band on the edge, which are left unpainted. Above the foot there are rays and above these a band with lotus-buds with interlacing stems and further up a thin line serving as the ground for the figures. Beneath, almost

hanging from, the handles there are scrolls of symmetrically arranged lotus-buds and palmettes forming a kind of diamond with a big dot in the centre. These floral ornaments show more than anything how the living and organic has given way to more regular and abstract forms in late black-figure.³⁷ They are painted after the pictures and avoid them where possible, as is shown very nicely on the palmette at the left-hand centaur's head. One half of the palmette has shrunk, its spiralled end only pretending to continue behind the head with a completely separate spiral's end. The handles are black. Between them on the shoulder there is a tongue pattern with alternatingly red and black tongues without incisions. This does not continue behind the handles which were attached before the vase was painted, as was normal. On the neck we find as usual a band of addorsed palmettes with lotus-buds between, separated at the centre by a chain-pattern also completely without incisions. The mouth, except on top, and the inside of the neck are black, a thin reserved line being left between them.

The two figure scenes are both arranged in a similar symmetrical way, Herakles surrounded by two opponents, the one to the right fighting Herakles, the one to the left leaving the battle.

On side A *Herakles fights two Amazons*. He is dressed in a short, tight chiton, the upper part of which is not shown in colour. He wears the head of the lion skin drawn up over his head, the paws bound together on his breast. The lower part of the skin he has fastened with his belt to facilitate movement. The tail of the skin forms something like an ampersand. A sword is thrust through his belt, a bow and a quiver are on his back. He is moving with great force to the right, only touching the ground with the toes of his right foot. His right hand brandishes the club somewhat awkwardly, its top intruding on the shoulder pattern, his left grips the helmet of his opponent.

This Amazon wears a short pleated dress and a cloak falling down in two long flaps. Her hair is curled above her forehead and falls loosely down her back. The helmet is of Attic type with a big crest but without cheek-pieces. She has greaves, simply left black when the legs were painted white to show the female skin, white being laid on top of black here as everywhere on the vase. Attacked by Herakles she has fallen down on one knee. Looking downwards she seems to accept defeat although she still has her spear to defend herself with. Her shield device is a club, which is unusual.³⁸ One would like to think that the painter, inspired by



7. MM 1968:122.



8. MM 1968:122.

the club of Herakles, is indicating subtly the outcome of the battle, but perhaps he was only lazy.

The Amazon to the left of Herakles is walking rather composedly out of the fight towards the left. She wears a short chiton with an embroidered neck-piece. Her hair-style is the same as her companion's but she has a soft, pointed headgear with two long flaps. From her belt hangs a quiver, of which we see a part above her right thigh and another with the lid behind her.³⁰ In her left hand she carries an axe and in the right a bow.

On the ground below Herakles is a fairly big stone without any apparent function in the fight. It may be there to indicate the environment, but perhaps it has, as it were, landed here from the battle on the other side and serves as a surface-filling object.

Red is used for Herakles' beard and chiton, the helmet of the falling Amazon, the border of her dress

and the decorative dots on the border of her shield. White is used for the skin of the women, the teeth of the lion skin, the hilt of the hero's sword, the device in the Amazon's shield. Incisions embellish the crest of her helmet, the border of Herakles' chiton and the neck-embroidery of the fleeing Amazon. The string of her bow is also indicated by incision.

Side B shows *Herakles and two centaurs*. For this battle Herakles has dressed himself in a looser, pleated chiton and of course the lion skin, as before drawn up over his head with the paws tied on his breast but the lower part here falling freely behind him as a cloak. He seems calmer but more concentrated. His left hand has caught hold of the beard of the centaur to his left, and with his right hand he aims a crashing blow on the centaur's head with his club. The centaur is rearing himself on his hind legs in fright. His left arm and part of his back, which is turned towards us,

9-10. MM 1968:122.



are covered with an animal skin as a shield. In his right hand is a branch. His head is turned towards Herakles. In his profile with its bulbous nose, wide open mouth, horse's ears and long unkempt hair the painter has caught the barbarian quality of his nature in a masterly fashion.

To the left of Herakles another centaur is contemplating whether he had better leave or not. He has provided himself not only with a branch but also with a big stone kept in the crook of his left arm. Unlike the Amazon on side A he is still hesitating. One hoof lifted in preparation for flight, he is turning round to watch the outcome of the battle, which is not quite so certain as on the other side.

Two more stones complete the picture, one below each centaur. They are of course implements of the fight but also part of the mountain landscape where the fight supposedly takes place. As before they help to fill empty surface.

Red and white are used sparingly, red for the beards and tails of the centaurs, white on the stone carried by the centaur and on the teeth of the lion skin.

The drawing is careless. The lines are of varying thickness, sometimes so thin as to be hardly visible. There are many other signs of the artist's lack of precision. His incisions do not always follow the painted areas very carefully e.g. in one fore leg of the left-hand centaur. The fleeing Amazon's bow has two strings. The tail of the right-hand centaur has an unnecessary incised contour line, since black is here bordering on red. The shield also has an incised contour, but as this was usually done with a pair of compasses it is only to be expected here. The hole left from the compasses is masked as a boss on the club. On the other hand there is an over all lack of incisions both in the ornamental decoration and in the pictures. For instance the lion skins are hairless i.e. there is no indication of "hairiness" in painting or with incisions, which is unusual.

Nor has the artist been very careful with the painting. The outlines of the black are not always very sharp nor do the red and the white always cover the underlying black completely. We must take into consideration, however, that something of these colours may have disappeared. There are some accidental splashes of black, e.g. above the head of the falling Amazon. The palmette at her head has had its original stem scraped away and a new one painted a bit further in. Two of the palmettes have eight leaves, while the rest have seven.

All this is of no great consequence, but it points to one fact: our painter did not care about details and fastidious precision but had an eye for composition and the importance of the whole.

The painter adheres to the principles of the archaic style. The eyes are drawn frontally, except—probably unintentionally—in the falling Amazon. The figures, with the possible exception of Herakles on side B follow the old scheme: head and lower part of body in profile, upper part of body frontal. The painter does not seem to share the deep interest of his contemporaries in the human body and its possibilities in art. But he has used the old scheme to great advantage, especially in the centaur scene, which has an almost monumental effect. Though it is not an unknown motif, this type with two antithetic centaurs placed back to back with Herakles in between seems extremely rare.⁴⁰ On a small fragment by Sophilos in Athens⁴¹ Herakles is surrounded by three more or less wounded centaurs, two of which are placed in basically the same way as on our vase, but the third centaur clutters up the picture lying as he is between the legs of one of the others. The same goes for a neck-amphora of the Group of Toronto 305,⁴² where Herakles again fights three centaurs placed in a similar fashion, but the whole picture is crowded, as on the Sophilos fragment, and makes no use of the inherent possibilities of the scheme. Our painter could, however, also have got inspiration from the fairly common Nessos-scheme i.e. Herakles stopping a fleeing centaur, with a companion centaur mirrored on his other side.

Herakles fighting Amazons is, on the other hand, one of those monotonously repeated motifs that we meet again and again with little differences. von Bothmer has collected in his great work on Amazons no less than 19 examples, among them ours, of vases, where the motif is represented in almost exactly the same way.⁴³ It seems to be a shortened version of an even more common type with a third Amazon fighting behind the nearest opponent of Herakles.⁴⁴ It is to this long line of predecessors we owe the "old" look of the Amazon scene. The centaur fight looks much younger.

Many things seem to point to a late date for the amphora. This makes it not improbable that we shall find parallels in red-figure, and as a matter of fact it reminds not a little of such a well-known master as the Kleophrades Painter, the centaur side in particular. Our vase is probably the one found in Beazley under the heading "near the Kleophrades Painter" with the

sub-heading "recalling the black-figured neck-amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter".⁴⁵

The Kleophrades Painter,⁴⁶ whose real name was Epiktetos (the same as an older painter's) is with the Berlin Painter the most important representative of late archaic vase-painting. Beginning as a pupil of Euthymides, he worked for a long time, covering at least the first two decades of the fifth century B.C., and has left over a hundred vases, among them some in the black-figure technique. He has a powerful, flowing line and large, monumental figures. He passes several stages of development each leading to greater simplification and concentration on the important things. In the end he loses some of his creative force and paints a few unimpressive and rather conventional vases. A Greek vase-painter could not always be at his best, as Beazley reminds us in his *Paralipomena*.⁴⁷

The virile style of the painter was well suited to the representation of centaurs. On a stamnos in Tarquinia⁴⁸ Herakles is drawing wine from the pithos of Pholos while two thirsty centaurs are approaching with empty vases on their shoulders. This Herakles is tallish and elegantly late archaic as in the centaur scene on our amphora. The lion skin is worn and tied in the same fashion and the paws have the typically rounded toes. The centaurs are sturdy and short-legged. Their

movements are awkward and they carry branches. They are obviously relations of our centaurs.

Another stamnos in the Louvre shows fighting between Lapiths and centaurs.⁴⁹ On one side is a Lapith surrounded by two centaurs, one fallen, one rushing in to help, on the other side the unhappy Kaineus is being driven down into the ground by two centaurs wielding stones and branches.⁵⁰ Here is the same feeling for symmetrical arrangement. This kind of scene could be the source of inspiration for our amphora.⁵¹

The Herakles fight with centaurs has a much simplified form on an amphora in Munich,⁵² where Herakles' opponents are reduced to one. This is a superior vase and not comparable but for details like the way Herakles is wearing his skin draped like a shield over his arm.

The centaurs just mentioned are all bald, but when we finally meet one still having his hair, there is no doubt any more that the painter of our amphora, if indeed he is not the Kleophrades Painter himself in a weak moment, must be a painter of a very kindred spirit. Notwithstanding the obvious differences in technique and quality there is on a fragment in Florence the same wonderful profile as on the right-hand centaur on the amphora (Figs. 11-12).

11. Florence 4218, detail.



12. MM 1968:122, detail.



Many details help to establish the connection. On the great cup in Paris⁵⁴ we find a Herakles with the skin draped in a similar fashion. The skin has the same paws with toes like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle and a tail forming an ampersand. One of the Amazons carries a small centaur in her shield, evidence for the painter's liking for his species. He could not even be left out of an Amazonian fight.⁵⁵ There is much more, but let one final sign suffice: a long-shafted axe of the same kind as on the amphora on one black-figured vase.⁵⁶

I have chosen to compare the amphora to the red-figured centaur vases of the Kleophrades Painter rather than to his black-figured work because owing to the carelessness in execution of the amphora the interest lies mainly in composition and in the simplification and monumental quality of the figures, which are better paralleled in the red-figured vases. Almost all the above-mentioned vases are late works of the Kleophrades Painter and this is the period most likely to have inspired the painter of the amphora.

According to von Bothmer⁵⁷ the painter of our amphora has also decorated another neck-amphora in Paris,⁵⁸ showing on one side Herakles and two opponents, on the other Theseus and the bull from Marathon. The vase is unfortunately not well preserved, but as far as one can tell this view seems very probable. The composition on the Herakles side is the same as on our side A with one opponent kneeling half hidden behind his shield and another leaving the battle on the other side of Herakles. The pose of the hero is the same and the lion skin is arranged in a similar fashion and "hairless". The legs of the bull on the other side resemble those of the centaurs. The Athena helping Theseus seems to be a sister of the defeated Amazon. The Paris amphora is of the same type as ours but has several thin circumferential bands, where ours has a band with lotus-buds.

The two vases belong, even discounting the obvious influence from the Kleophrades Painter, to a time more and more dominated by red-figure. Black-figure was on the decline. Vases in the old technique, mostly neck-amphorae but also many smaller vases, continued to be made during the fifth century, especially the first quarter of it. Though technically of good quality, they were conventional in the choice of motifs, repeated *ad nauseam*, and summarily and hastily decorated, not even living up to the conscientiously high standard of the already late Leagros Group. The amphora is a product of its time in spite of its very great merits, its painter adhering consciously to the stiff and un-

developed style of a technique already out of date.

The shape of the vase is also late. According to Bloesch,⁵⁹ who has studied the shapes of neck-amphorae during the late archaic period, the development was towards slenderer and more elegant shapes. From around 510 we meet a new type of vase. Before this every part of the vase had been treated separately, as seen for instance in the handles, standing out like ears from the neck. The proportions now become more harmonious and the parts better related to one another. The vase is treated more as a whole. This is most noticeable in the handles, which now follow the lines of the vase in a very different manner. The amphora shows many of these new traits in a developed form with handles following the lines of the neck, and well balanced, light proportions. In spite of its slender, narrowing shape, it is still rather compact and vigorous in the lines. A certain laxity of form and an even greater slenderness is otherwise typical of the shapes of the beginning fifth century. But taken as a whole the production of neck-amphorae during the first quarter of the fifth century cannot have differed to any greater degree from that around 500.⁶⁰

Of the pictures on the vases three are deeds of Herakles, while one is from another cycle and that is the story of *Peleus and Thetis*. It was known already to Homer, that Thetis by the will of the gods had to be given in marriage to a mortal.⁶¹ The explanation is given by Pindar.⁶² Thetis' son, Achilles, it was foretold, was to become greater than his father. Another version with a flavour of folklore, also in Pindar,⁶³ explains our picture. Peleus had to persuade Thetis by force to the wedding and succeeded in spite of Thetis taking all kinds of shapes.

This version is found in art on the chest of Kypselos, which is our oldest evidence for the love-struggle.⁶⁴ In black-figure it is a popular motif. Brommer's list contains no less than 157 vases, our vase being no. 29.⁶⁵ It is a typical example of what these vases look like: the two "lovers" in the middle, the animals symbolizing the transformed Thetis, the nereids, her sisters and friends. A near parallel by another painter, though one near the work of the Red-Line Painter, is an amphora in Naples showing the same scene but for the addition of a fishy lion attacking Peleus.⁶⁶

The fact that the three other pictures are all adventures of Herakles is proof of his enormous popularity especially during the later half of the sixth century. Two are proper labours, the fight with the lion and

the battle of the Amazons, one is only an incident on the way to a labour. It was customary to collect several adventures of Herakles in one place as on the throne of Amyklai,⁶⁷ but the twelve labours were not properly canonized yet.⁶⁸

The first is, however, always the fight with *the Nemean lion*. It is the most beloved adventure of Herakles, and very possibly the most beloved of all motifs ever.⁶⁹ It is probably a very old story, found as early as in Hesiod.⁷⁰ In art it may already be Herakles on a geometric fibula or on an almost contemporary stand from Kerameikos.⁷¹ One of the oldest vases with the motif is an early Corinthian alabastron in Syracuse.⁷² But one must remember, that a man fighting a lion is an old Oriental motif even though Herakles usually got the merit of it later. But there are no doubts about the Herakles on all those black-figured vases, 687 collected by Brommer and that probably far from all.⁷³

The story is too well known to need any telling. In this the first of his labours he is usually shown young and beardless, though not on our vase, and of course not yet wearing the skin, which is so to say still on the lion. He fights with sword or club, but very often only with his hands. Companions are Iolaos, Hermes or Athena or all three. The vases differ slightly in the position of Herakles and the lion, the most common in late black-figure being the almost lying one,⁷⁴ as on our hydria, and in the number and grouping of the spectators present, all dependent on the size and shape of the picture-fields.⁷⁵

The second most popular motif is *the battle of the Amazons*.⁷⁶ These brave women soldiers from far away appealed to the imagination of the Greeks, who liked to see their favourite hero involved with them. The literary tradition gives the obtaining of the queen's girdle as the object of the fight.⁷⁷ The vases never show anything but common battle scenes, where Herakles does not seem to have anything in mind but the taking of the queen's life or rather the life of the anonymous Amazon, with whom he mostly fights. Perhaps the battle was only the preferred motif in art, and everybody was supposed to know the underlying story,⁷⁸ or maybe the motif was earlier in art and the explanation came afterwards.

The first Amazon is found on a votive shield from Tiryns and is possibly not an opponent of Herakles.⁷⁹ This doubt does not exist about a Corinthian alabastron from the late seventh century, unfortunately now lost, inscribed with the name of Herakles.⁸⁰ After

this there are no known objects with the motif until the second quarter of the sixth century, when it becomes all the more popular. It continues all through the sixth century into the fifth, when Herakles is finally superseded by Theseus, who was more adaptable to Athenian propaganda.

Earlier vases show grand battles, but later the opponents are reduced to two or three. The scheme is often the same. Herakles moves to the right, the queen of the Amazons at his feet. One of her companions, to the right, comes to help her, while the one to the left may help her, but more often withdraws from the battle, sometimes looking back. Armour and dress vary. The Amazons may be hoplites with cuirasses and swords, or archers with the typical pointed cap, quiver and bow. More seldom does one of them carry an axe. They are always represented as civilized, if it can be considered civilized for a woman to wear a short dress. Oriental dress is a late sign. The number of black-figured vases with this motif is so great that an exact parallel is hard to find. They differ from one another in small details, but the general composition is very similar in them all.⁸¹

Finally the picture of *Herakles with the two centaurs*. Centaurs, one type of those mixed creatures so beloved by the Greeks, are known early. These beings of the woods, only half human, represented to the Greeks the unknown and frightening powers of nature, and they liked to see them defeated by an honest hero. The greatest hero of them all, Herakles, clashed several times with them, both single ones as Nessos and several as in the encounter by the cave of Pholos.⁸² This last is probably the motif of the amphora, even though Herakles and a couple of centaurs have moved away from the cave in the heat of the battle. A Greek, knowing the adventures of his hero, would hardly have had any trouble identifying it, though it cannot be finally proved, that this is not another fight involving Herakles with two unknown centaurs.⁸³

The adventure is mentioned by Stesichoros⁸⁴ and later by others, but Apollodorus is the first to give the full story.⁸⁵ Herakles, on his way to fight the Erymanthian boar, had sought shelter for the night in the cave house of Pholos, a civilized centaur. But the fried meat and even more the intoxicating smell of the wine called forth the wilder centaurs, and Herakles had to drive them away in headlong flight, that did not end before Cape Malea. This seems a suitable subject for a comedy, and was also treated by Epicharmos

in a now lost work. It is interesting to note, that Epicharmos, who was active during the first quarter of the fifth century, also wrote a play about Herakles and the girdle of the queen of the Amazons.⁸⁶ Is it a coincidence that both motifs depicted on the amphora also figure in his plays, or dare one suppose an influence of some sort on our painter?

In art the motif appears early, on the chest of Kypselos, where Pausanias recognized it nearly 800 years later.⁸⁷ We find the motif transferred from Proto-corinthian to Corinthian.⁸⁸ On these vases the motif is usually represented with more details. Pholos appears in a long dress to differentiate him from his wilder brothers. The cave is often shown and the large pithos of wine, and sometimes also the hearth from which Herakles takes the fire-brands to rout the centaurs. It testifies to the popularity of Herakles, that the motif is found also in Laconian and "Pontic" vase-painting.⁸⁹ In Attic black-figure it is at all times a favourite subject.⁹⁰ A rather interesting parallel to our amphora is given by a so called Tyrrenian amphora dated to around 560 with the same two motifs, Herakles fighting Amazons and centaurs.⁹¹ Later artists preferred to represent the episode in other ways, Pholos bidding his guest welcome, or the opening of the pithos, or even the actual party.⁹² But the fighting motif survived as shown by a small neck-amphora in Paris with the battle going on all round the vase.⁹³

A final comparison between the two vases shows us,

that the hydria is painted with care and attention, though no great originality, while the amphora, notwithstanding a certain carelessness in its execution, has been painted with a spirited freshness all its own, that cannot but excite our admiration. The lustrous black and the well preserved white contrast with the deep orange-red of the ground. The hydria is not so fortunate. Especially the loss of most of the white makes a just appreciation difficult.

The choice of motifs is also important. The ones on the hydria are chosen conventionally and without any connection between them, as if taken at random from a pattern-book, that is, if you do not take into account the piquant difference between the two struggles, both implying strength and victory, but one leading to death and the other to a wedding and a new life. The two sides of the amphora, on the other hand, are closely related in form as well as in content. This was coming more and more into use in an age when people wanted to see a vase as a unit. What the two pictures symbolize, is also of greater interest. "Barbarian" enemies, represented by centaurs and Amazons, are defeated by a Greek hero. This can hardly be a coincidence in the time of the Persian war, nor that the champion of the Greeks is not Theseus, also a participant in such battles, but Herakles, the favourite of all Greeks—a very suitable choice for a time that saw almost the one single effort by the Greeks to unite to meet and vanquish a common enemy.

¹ A reason for the reddish streaking may be too thinly applied glaze but it may also be due to firing at wrong temperature. If too much alkali are used in the preparation of the clay, the iron will dissolve in the glaze and give a greenish tint, J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, New York 1965, 79 ff.

² G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York 1935, 11 f., figs. 78–79. Cf. also L. D. G. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, Boston 1922, 107 ff., nos. 62–63, though not quite corresponding.

³ H. B. Walters, *Ancient Pottery II*, London 1905, 228 f.

⁴ Cf. Hermes in the shoulder field and also the winged feet of Peleus on the vase in the Villa Giulia M 488, P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, Rome 1930, pl. 73, 1.

⁵ Sophokles frgm. 618 (ed. Pearson) calls her pantómorphos, a hardly translatable word for the gift to assume any shape you want, and frgm. 150 (ed. Pearson), schol. Pind. Nem. 3. 60, mentions her change into lion, snake, fire and water. Cf. also Proteus, Hom. Odys. 4. 417 ff.

⁶ B 306, CVA, Brit. Mus. 6, III H e, pl. 77, 3, of the Leagros Group, J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford 1956 (hereafter ABV) 365, 68.

⁷ B 233, CVA, Brit. Mus. 4, III H e, pl. 54, 3b.

⁸ B 319, CVA, Brit. Mus. 6, III H e, pl. 83, 4.

⁹ ABV 361, 21, of which more later.

¹⁰ R. Hackl, *Merkantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen*, publ. in *Münchener archäologische Studien dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidm.*, Munich 1909, 5 ff. The graffiti on the hydria are treated: the ligature under XLVI, the arrow under LXIV, and the last one under LXVII.

¹¹ D. A. Amyx, *An Amphora with a Price-Inscription in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon*, Univ. of Calif. Publ. Class. Arch. I, 8 (1941), 190 and n. 117.

¹² H. R. W. Smith, CVA, San Francisco 1, 26 f.

¹³ T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London 1972, 278 ff.

¹⁴ Smith, loc. cit. (supra n. 12).

¹⁵ D. M. Edwards, *The Organisation of the Athenian Pottery*

Industry, 132 ff. (Graffiti and Dipinti). The graffito is treated on pp. 174 ff., lepis mentioned on p. 186.

¹⁶ An example on another vase in the Medelhavsmuseet: MM 1962:7, ABV 374, 197, of the Leagros Group; T. Rönne-Linders, *Medelhavsmus. Bull.* 3 (1963) fig. 21.

¹⁷ Amyx, loc. cit. (supra n. 11).

¹⁸ A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Ser. III, Munich 1932, 237.

¹⁹ J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951, 81 ff.; ABV 354 ff. with further references.

²⁰ Beazley, *Development*, 81.

²¹ H. Bloesch, *Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period*, JHS 71 (1951) 36, pl. 18c.

²² The lists in Hackl are naturally far from complete; cf. also Webster (supra n. 13) 278. One ought to remember that the Leagros Group is the largest and most important in late black-figure and must be expected to occur often in lists of this kind. A new study by A. W. Johnston is in preparation.

²³ Munich 1716 (J 118), ABV 362, 25; Hackl no. 551 (409 and 535), pl. 2, now apparently lost. Even the little cross-stroke on the lambda in one of the ligatures seems to be the same, but was possibly not intended.

²⁴ Würzburg 311, ABV 362, 35; Beazley, *Development*, 84; P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*, München 1960, 53, pl. 72. In this dated to about 510.

²⁵ ABV 361, 21 = 605, 83.

²⁶ ABV 354 ff. and 600 ff.; J. D. Beazley and F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Gugiellini nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Rome, Città del Vaticano 1939, 36 f. In the latter there is a list of the painter's lesser work, dated to c. 500. The rest of his vases are dated from 525-15 into the fifth century. The varying quality of his vases makes comparisons difficult. A date nearer 510 seems, however, the likeliest for the hydria.

²⁷ Two in Sweden in the Malmö Museum: 29259, ABV 603, 50 and 29260, ABV 602, 31. Both have Dionysian motifs.

²⁸ M 488, ABV 603, 64 = 373, 171; Mingazzini (supra n. 4) 255 f., pls. 69, 6 and 73.

²⁹ Faina 72, ABV 604, 65 = 371, 142; *Röm. Mitt.* 53 (1938), 112 ff., pl. 27.

³⁰ Madrid 10915 (L 77), ABV 602, 25; CVA, Madrid I, III H e, pls. 20, 1 and 21, 1.

³¹ According to Beazley Herakles on both sides. It is possible that the painter only tried to vary the subject, but one would prefer not to find Herakles at two different ages and with two different ways of attacking at the very same occasion. A young Herakles is not uncommon for the motif but does not seem to be the painter's type. The attributes are the same, except that the young man has a mantle where the old man has an extra club. One would like to think of the young one as Theseus with the sow of Krommyon, but the animal is a boar. That there was some confusion is, however, evident from the boar on a kylix in London, E 36 (825), ARV 115, 3; C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in Br. Mus.*, London 1896, vol. III, pl. 2. Cf. also Hyginus,

Fabulae 38. 6 though much later.

³² Copenhagen 2, ABV 604, 71; CVA, Copenhagen 3, III H, pl. 121, 1.

³³ White being so well preserved as here is unusual. It seems, however, original but for the right hand and knee of the defeated Amazon. On one stone on side B is a fairly clear, whitish contour line of doubtful origin.

³⁴ Richter and Milne (supra n. 2) 4, figs. 14 and 16, our vase coming somewhere in between. Caskey (supra n. 2) no. 11, p. 48, though much stouter.

³⁵ P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin 1927, 46.

³⁶ Noble (supra n. 1) 60 ff.

³⁷ Jacobsthal (supra n. 35) 47 and 50 ff.

³⁸ In D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, there is not one example of this shield device, nor have I found it elsewhere.

³⁹ Cf. for the appearance of the quiver CVA, Karlsruhe I, pl. 8,2 (B 26).

⁴⁰ None in P. V. C. Baur, *Centaur in Ancient Art*. The Archaic Period, Berlin 1912, nor in M. Ziemssen, *Kentaurendarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen*, Berlin 1945. See also K. Schauenburg, *Herakles bei Pholos*. Zu zwei rotfigurigen Schalen, *Ath. Mitt.* 86 (1971) 44, n. 13, where our amphora is mentioned among other possible Pholos-fights away from the Pithos.

⁴¹ Athens 2035, 2, ABV 40, 21; CVA Athens I, III H f, pl. 1, 2.

⁴² Vatican 388, ABV 283, 9; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Rome, Città del Vaticano 1922-42, pl. 55.

⁴³ von Bothmer (supra n. 38) 52 f. and 225, nos. 133-146, type III F b, Herakles surrounded by two Amazons, the one to the left leaving. Ours must be the one mentioned as no. 133 bis, p. 225. It corresponds with type III G d of the group with three or more Amazons; the fleeing Amazon to the left is an archer and does not turn round.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 53 ff. and 225 f., nos. 147-255 bis, type III G.

⁴⁵ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, sec. ed. Oxford 1963 (hereafter ARV), 194, 2, there said to be in the Lucerne market.

⁴⁶ J. D. Beazley, *Kleophrades*, JHS 30 (1910); *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, Berlin 1933 (hereafter Kl.); ARV 181 ff.; ABV 404 ff. and 696; *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1971, 175 f., 340 f., 510; A. Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmalers*, *Sitzungsber. der Heidelberg. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Klasse* (1972) 5. Abhandlung. See ARV for further references.

⁴⁷ Beazley, *Paralipomena*, XIX.

⁴⁸ Tarquinia 711, ARV 187, 59; Kl. no. 44, pl. 22 and 23, 1-2; CVA, Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. 2, III 1, pl. 13, 1-2.

⁴⁹ G 55 from Tarquinia, ARV 187, 58; Kl. no. 43, pl. 24; 25 and 23, 3; CVA, Louvre I, III 1 c, pl. 6, 3; 6,5 and 7, 3.

⁵⁰ Another fight between centaurs and Lapiths is found on a kalpis from Vulci, Leyden PC 83 (XVIII h 20), ARV 188, 71; J. Roulez, *Choix de vases peints du Musée de Leide*, Ghent 1854, pl. 11, 1, where skins are draped as on our vase and

the same type of branches are wielded.

⁵¹ Ziemssen (supra n. 40) 103 ff., no. 290–331 treats this kind of Lapith-centaur fight. They all seem to have more or less the same design.

⁵² Munich 2316 (J 55) from Vulci, ARV 183, 12; Kl. no. 10; CVA, Munich 5, pls. 209, 3–4 and 211, 4–5; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1953, pls. 84–87.

⁵³ Florence 4218, ARV 191, 102; Kl. no. 76, pls. 23, 4 and 31; CVA, Florence, Mus. Arch. 2, III I, pl. 69; S. Colvin, *JHS* 1 (1880) pl. 3; Iris attacked by centaurs. Photo by the courtesy of the Soprintendenza Alle Antichità d'Etruria, Firenze. Detail of neg., no. 17753.

⁵⁴ Paris, Cab. Méd. 535; 699 and other fragments from Tarquinia, ARV 191, 103; Kl. no. 77, pls. 8; 10, 1; 11–12; 15, 1–7; 30, 5.

⁵⁵ The same traits occur on the neck of a volute crater, fragments of which are in Paris and Geneva. The Paris fragments G 166, ARV 186, 51; CVA, Louvre, III I c, pls. 17–19. The fragments are assembled by Greifenhagen (supra n. 46) pls. 14–25.

⁵⁶ New York 41.162.189, ABV 405, 17; (Hoppin and) Gallatin Collection, III H e, pl. 4, 3.

⁵⁷ von Bothmer (supra n. 38) 225.

⁵⁸ F 271, ARV 194, 3; CVA, Louvre 5, III H e, pls. 56, 9–10 and 55, 7.

⁵⁹ Bloesch (supra n. 21) 29 ff.

⁶⁰ It is difficult to judge the shapes of vases from photos not taken particularly for this purpose, but among the makers of neck-amphorae mentioned by Bloesch (37 ff., pl. 19) our amphora seems to come nearest to the work of the "Canoe Potter" e.g. no. 10, p. 38, London B 250, CVA, Brit. Mus. 4, III H e, pl. 61, 2; ABV 341 on top, near the Leagros Group. This is one of the potter's later vases. Our vase, however, does not have the typical "canoe foot" and was certainly made by another potter.

⁶¹ Hom. *Iliad*. 18. 84 ff. and 24. 59 ff. and 537 f. See further A. Lesky, *Peleus and Thetis im frühen Epos*, St. Ital. 27–28 (1956) 216 ff., or *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bern 1966, 401 ff.

⁶² Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 28 ff.

⁶³ Pind. *Nem.* 4. 62 ff. and 3. 35 f.; According to L. Bloch, "Peleus", Roscher, *Ausführl. Lex. der röm. und griech. Mythologie* III:2 (1897–1909) col. 1833, the name *πηλεὺς* sounding somewhat like the word for wrestling *πάλη* has had considerable influence at the beginning of the tradition.

⁶⁴ Paus. 5. 18. 5.

⁶⁵ F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 3. erw. Aufl. Marburg 1973, 321 ff.; an older list in B. Graef, *Peleus und Thetis*, *Jdl* 1 (1886) 201 ff.

⁶⁶ Naples 2535, CVA, Mus. Naz. 1, III H e, pl. 3, 5; ABV 607 at bottom.

⁶⁷ Paus. 3. 17. 5 ff.

⁶⁸ The twelve labours in their later canonized form are first met on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but different authors combine different adventures as shown by Soph. *Trach.* 1089 ff. and Eur. *Her.* 359 ff. The centaur fight seems some-

times to be counted almost as one of the labours, Soph. *Trach.* 1095 f.; Eur. *Her.* 364 ff.

⁶⁹ F. Brommer, *Herakles, Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur*, 2. durchges. und veränd. Aufl. Köln 1972, 7.

⁷⁰ Hes. *Theog.* 327 ff.

⁷¹ Fibula, London, Brit. Mus. 3204, H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes*, London 1899, 372 f., fig. 86; Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 9, fig. 3; *Jdl* 31 (1916) 302, fig. 7, possibly also representing the adventure with the Stymphalian birds. On another fibula, no. 3205, *Cat. of Bronzes*, 373 f., fig. 87. Herakles with the hydra, which supports the interpretation of Herakles on the first one. Athens, Kerameikos, stand of terracotta, Brommer, *Herakles*, 8, pl. 4a.

⁷² Alabastron, Syracuse, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, 126, no. 83, fig. 44 bis.

⁷³ Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (supra n. 65) 109 ff. The lion scene of the hydria is no. 49 on p. 136 under the heading "unbekanntes Schema"; an older list in S. B. Jr. Luce, *List of Vases showing Heracles and the Nemean Lion*, *AJA* 20 (1916) 460 ff., comprising 369 vases.

⁷⁴ Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (supra n. 65) 109 ff., 237 ex.

⁷⁵ Cf. London B 301 and B 303, CVA, Brit. Mus. 6, III H e, pl. 75, 2 and 4. Also ns. 6 and 8 supra.

⁷⁶ Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 35.

⁷⁷ Pind. *frgm.* 172 (158). Also later authors e.g. Eur. *Her.* 408 ff.

⁷⁸ The girdle does not seem to occur for certain in art until a fourth century Campanian vase shows the peaceful surrender of it, Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 37. This was an age with a different spirit. On a much earlier vase, a Laconian cup, P. Pelagatti, *Kylix laconica con Eracle e le amazzoni*, *BCH* 82 (1958) 488, figs. 1–4; v. Bothmer (supra n. 38) 115. Herakles touches with his hand the queen's girdle, but what he really wants is still fairly uncertain. It may be only a way of taking hold of her, to be compared with his grip on the helmet on our vase.

⁷⁹ Nauplia 4509, Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 35, pl. 23a; v. Bothmer (supra n. 38) 1 ff., pl. 1a–b.

⁸⁰ Alabastron from Samothrace, Imbros?, Brommer, *Herakles* (supra n. 69) 36, fig. 8; Payne (supra n. 72) 130 and 161, no. 336; v. Bothmer (supra n. 38), 3 f. no. 4.

⁸¹ Brommer, *Vasenlisten* (supra n. 65) 7 ff., 358 black-figured vases, the neck-amphorae being the second most popular shape. Our vase is mentioned but not included in the list. Cf. e.g. Florence 3839 (1883), v. Bothmer (supra n. 38), 52, no. 133, pl. 41, 1, type III F b (supra n. 43); Oxford (Miss.) CVA, Robinson Coll., Baltimore 1, III H e, pls. 28–29; Würzburg 202; in v. Bothmer the last two are of type III G b, the Amazon to the left is a hoplite and does not turn round, p. 55, nos. 164–165, pl. 43, 1–2.

⁸² The Pholos adventure has been treated by Ziemssen (supra n. 40) 71 ff., systematically but far from exhaustively.

⁸³ Cf. Baur (supra n. 40) 37, no. 108; note also the likeness of the scheme to Vatican 388 (same note), where the pithos

is shown.

⁸⁴ Stesich. frgm. 7 (Athen. 11.499 A).

⁸⁵ Apoll. 2. 5. 4.

⁸⁶ G. Kaibel, "Epicharmos", RE 6:1 (1907) cols. 34 ff.

⁸⁷ Paus. 5. 19. 9 ff.

⁸⁸ Aryballos, Berlin F 336, Baur (supra n. 40) no. 226, fig. 19. Skyphos, Louvre L 173, CVA, Louvre 6, III C a, pl. 12, 7-12; Payne (supra n. 72) 129 f., no. 941, pl. 31, 10.

⁸⁹ Laconian dinos, Louvre E 662, CVA, Louvre 1, III D c, pls. 7-8. "Pontic" neck-amphora, inv.no. 4821 (cat.no. 173) CVA, Paris, Bibl.Nat. 1, III F, pls. 28, 6; 29, 1; 30, 1 and 4.

⁹⁰ Brommer, Vasenlisten (supra n. 65) 84 ff. Our is no. 18 in the list, erroneously suggested to be the same as Beazley, Paralipomena (supra n. 46) 141, 1. The list is of "anonymous" centaurs, the Pholos adventure being treated on pp. 78 ff. The episode is further taken up by S. B. Jr. Luce, Studies of Exploits of Heracles on Vases, AJA 28 (1924) 299 ff.

⁹¹ Rome, Conservat. 124 (35), ABV 99, 50; CVA, Rome, Mus. Capitol. 1, III H, pls. 9-10.

⁹² See Ziemssen (supra n. 40) 71 ff.

⁹³ F 266, CVA, Louvre 5, III H e, pl. 57, 12-13 and 15-16.

A Gold Wreath in the Medelhavsmuseet

Hedvig Landenius

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm recently acquired—as a deposition from the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities—a gold wreath of unknown provenance.

The wreath is composed of two tubular stems (0.5 cm d.) tapering off successively to attain at the centre the thickness of plain gold wire. The wire is then wound around the two stems to secure them. At the end of each stem an angular stud has been inserted to imitate an oblique crossection of a stem. This detail constitutes a distinctive mark pertaining to antique wreaths;¹ wire keeps the ends together, thereby forming an almost perfect circle (16 cm d.). The weight of the wreath is 90 grams.

On each stem 12 groups of two to three leaves are spaced at intervals of approximately 5 cm giving a total number of 70 leaves. The leaves extend into gold wire, inserted through holes and in some cases, emerging on the reverse side and finally wound around the stem. The result of an examination carried out by Dr. B. Nordenstam at the Botanical section of the Museum of Natural History in Stockholm indicates that with the highest probability they are olive leaves. It is difficult to distinguish between laurel and olive. The main difference being primarily that of the berries, which are attached in the case of laurel closer to the stem. 29 hollow berries of gold, varying in size, are attached to the end of small wires, 3 cm in length, and entwined in the groups of leaves.

It is not possible to determine when wreaths first appeared. Already in the Early Dynastic Period at Ur (third millennium B.C.) the custom of using wreaths of different materials was known.² One example is the head-dress of Queen Pu-Abi found in the Royal cemetery. It is composed of a lapis-lazuli band from

which gold foil leaves extend. Stylistically it differs from wreaths of later periods. However, it proves that wreath-like ornaments existed at this time.

A painting in the tomb of Itet at Meydum in Egypt shows a herdsman wearing a wreath around his head.³ This may be a natural adornment while there is a special religious implication in the so called crown of justification.⁴ This expression refers to the burial custom of crowning the deceased with a wreath to symbolize that he had successfully passed through the last judgement. A known example is that of Tutankhamen composed of natural olive leaves.⁵ Olive trees were not specially common in Egypt.⁶ Nevertheless, there are substantial evidences from the 18th dynasty and later for the use of its leaves in adornments. Olive was preferably used for the making of wreaths of which there is abundant evidence from the Graeco-Roman period. The many mummy portraits confirm this.⁷

The Minoan age has yielded no wreaths. The gold leaves on display at the Heracleion museum were used as dress ornaments.⁸ The Mycenaean age likewise shows no evidence of wreaths having been used.

The earliest remains of a gold wreath found so far in Greece were discovered on the Peloponnese at the site of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.⁹ Due to the rich prevalence of Laconian I pottery in this area, a more precise dating of the wreath was made possible, namely to the middle of the 7th century B.C.

Gradually the occurrence of wreaths increases to become quite frequent in the Hellenistic age. In general, due to Alexander the Great's conquests in the East, gold craftsmanship flourished during this time.¹⁰

Wreaths served multifarious purposes.¹¹ The ancient authors bear witness to this fact. Herodotos relates of



wreaths given as rewards in contests of artistic and athletic nature.¹² According to Euripides wreaths were used as engagement presents which is verified by the numerous vase-paintings found.¹³ Plutarch speaks of olive wreaths offered as prizes at the panathenaic festivals as well as gifts to war heroes.¹⁴ He also claims that they were employed at banquets to forestall drunkenness of the bearer of the wreath. Diogenes has delivered a most interesting explanation to the frequency of wreaths as funerary attributes.¹⁵ In conformity with the belief that man when dead was considered to have acquired divine power, the head was crowned with a wreath to express this capacity. The temple inventories of Delos from 279 B.C. mention gold wreaths of laurel, ivy, oak, vine, myrtle, and olive.¹⁶

A comparison between the wreath in the Medelhavsmuseet, (inventory number MM 1975:11) and similar olive wreaths shows that on the whole they are alike but vary in detail.

Two olive wreaths found in South Russia, one on the Kerch peninsula in the Kekuvatsky barrow and the other in the Great Blisnitza barrow on the Taman peninsula, resemble closely the Stockholm wreath.¹⁷ The Great Blisnitza wreath was found with a coin with the effigy of Alexander the Great which enabled a dating to the 4th century. It has no berries; the foliage is thick. The Kekuvatsky wreath has four parallel stems fastened at one end. Only two stems have a stud-construction like the MM 1975:11. The berries are fastened to these stems. The other stems are rolled up in a decorative manner. The exact amount

of berries and leaves is not mentioned but in spite of the deficient photograph the Kekuvatsky wreath seems to be thicker than MM 1975:11.

In the Nelidow collection there is an olive wreath of gold from Mytilene assigned to the 4th century B.C.¹⁸ It is a particularly interesting specimen as the two stems are connected by a so called Heracles knot, consisting of two interlocking loops. This sort of knot was a common ornament in Hellenistic times and worn as a good luck charm.¹⁹ This wreath differs from MM 1975:11 as to the berries being inserted in the leaves and not attached to the stem.

The H. Stathatos collection in the National Museum of Archaeology in Athens contains a fourth parallel.²⁰ The foliage is not identified and it can serve as a good example of the difficulty involved in differentiating laurel from olive. It could be olive—the berries are not close to the stem. The construction resembles the MM 1975:11 except for flowers fastened in between the leafage. It is attributed by Amandry to the 4th century B.C. and has supposedly served as a funerary ornament due to its flimsy construction.

Another sample of this kind is a gold wreath from Vratsa, Bulgaria dated to the 4th century B.C.²¹ It shows strong parallels with the MM 1975:11 by way of leaves (rubricated laurel) and studs.

The Gans collection contained an olive wreath, now in the West Berlin Museum, more ornate than MM 1975:11 having berries made of coloured stones.²² The lock-construction is of similar structure. On the opposite side there is a flower, on which is fastened a cicada. The provenance is Asia Minor and it is dated to the 4th century B.C.

An olive wreath in the Annette Finnigan collection dated to the Greek Hellenistic period has rosette-shaped blossoms entwined between the leaves.²³

One olive wreath of gilded bronze, found in a Ptolemaic grave at Heliopolis in Egypt has strong resemblance to the Stockholm wreath especially in the shape of the berries.²⁴

There are two wreaths in the Baghdad Museum both dated to the 4th century A.D.²⁵ They bear the closest resemblance to MM 1975:11 with regard to the

placing and form of the leaves. One of them found in Uruk is the best parallel. The wreaths also constitute an excellent example of a problem involved in wreath-research namely that of the dating. The Baghdad Museum wreaths are similar to those I have already mentioned, especially those from Southern Russia, yet their dating is approximately 600 years later. Difficulty in dating is due to the fact that the composition of wreaths is naturalistic in general and therefore it is almost impossible to determine the exact date. The question of ascertaining the provenance is also an enigmatic element for the same reason as the dating.

The third problem to be considered is that of falsification of ancient jewellery. An analysis of one of the gold leaves of the MM 1975:11, (see chart below) has given an interesting result. The percentage of gold is extremely high (99 %), which indicates that refined gold was used and that forgery cannot be excluded. An analysis by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston of 25 Greek gold objects shows that the usual percentage is only about 90 %; this is nevertheless too limited a basis for a general statement.²⁶ Among some Egyptian objects analysed one single piece from the Persian period held 99 %; this fact underlines that refining of gold could have started some time during this period.²⁷

A gold examination should be made of its closest parallel namely the Uruk wreath, and the result compared with the analysis of the Stockholm wreath. This could be significant. Irrespective of the result of such a research it is extremely difficult to spot falsification.²⁸

Appendix

Analysis to determine the percentage of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron of the MM 1975:11 wreath, carried out by Analytica AB, Stockholm.

Gold	Silver	Copper	Lead	Iron.
99 %	0.6 %	0.2 %	0.02 %	0.06 %

B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, Museum
 nakii, Athen 1938, p. 57 nr. 44.
 C. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery*, London
 71, p. 3.
 D. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, London 1971, p. 17 fig. 6.
 Ph. Derchain, *La couronne de la justification*, CdE 39,
 54, p. 225 ff.
 E. Newberry, *Report on the Floral Wreath Found in
 the Coffins of Tut-ankh-amen*, in H. Carter, *The Tomb of
 Tut-ankh-Amen*, Vol. II, London 1927, 189 ff.
 J. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, Teil I,
 Leipzig-Berlin 1924, p. 29.
 K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*,
 Wiesbaden 1966, p. 14, pl. 21.
 F. Schachermeyr, *Die Minoische Kultur des Alten Kreta*,
 Stuttgart 1964, p. 53.
 J. M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, *Journal
 Hellenic Studies*, Supplementary volume 5, 1929, p. 383.
 H. Hoffmann-P. Davidson, *Greek Gold*, Mainz 1965, p. 20.
 Both L. Deubner, *Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im Klas-
 schen Altertum*, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 29, 1931,
 ff. and K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum*,
 Bonn 1940 discuss them thoroughly.
 Herodotos VII, 26.
 Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, 123, 707.
 Plutarch, *Sym. III*, Themist. 21.
 Diogenes Laertius, *Zeno VII*.
 Ph. Homolle, *Contes des Hiéropes du temple d'Apollon
 à Delphes*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, VI, 1882,

p. 107 ff.

¹⁷ M. I. Artamonov, *Treasures from Scythian Tombs in the
 Hermitage Museum Leningrad*, London 1968, p. 72.
¹⁸ L. Pollak, *Klassisch-Antike Goldschmiedearbeiten im
 Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow*, Leipzig 1903, p. 1.
¹⁹ R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1961,
 p. 155.
²⁰ P. Amandry, *La Collection de H. Stathatos*, Strasbourg
 1953, p. 144, pl. LIV.
²¹ *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*, Catalogue of special
 exhibition in the British Museum, London 1976, p. 66 nr. 299.
²² A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuck der Alten Welt*, Berlin 1974,
 p. 30.
²³ H. Hoffman, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West*, *Greek
 and Roman Art in Texas collections*. Houston 1970, p. 460.
²⁴ F. Petrie-E. Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and
 Shurafa*, *British School of Archaeology*, London 1915, p. 38.
²⁵ *Capolavori del Museo di Baghdad*, Torino 1965, p. 90, pl.
 CII; F. Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, Baghdad
 1972, p. 390. nr. 231.
²⁶ H. Hofmann-P. Davidson, *Greek Gold*, Mainz 1965, p. 49.
²⁷ Cf. A. Lucas-J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and
 Industries*, London 1962, p. 490. This analysis of one single
 object was, however, made in 1901. A new analysis with
 modern methods may give another result. It is also necessary
 to question the date of the object.
²⁸ H. Hoffman, *Greek Gold Reconsidered*, *AJA* 73, 1969, p.
 447-451, and D. L. Carrol, *Drawn Wire and the Identifica-
 tion of Forgeries in Ancient Jewelry*, *AJA* 74, 1970, p. 401.

An Etruscan Plate

Eva Rystedt

MM 1964:9 (Figs 1–3) was acquired in Rome in 1963 along with other Italic vases presented to the Medelhavsmuseet by the late King Gustav VI Adolf. It is a wheel-made plate of wide and low shape (diameter c. 30 cm.; height 3.5–4.7 cm.) with painted decoration. It has a flat, slightly raised base, slightly convex walls and an off-set, flat, horizontal rim. Close to the rim are two pierced holes for suspension. The plate warped in the firing. The resulting inexactness of shape is matched by the carelessness of the painted decoration. On the inside are a central filled circle and two wide encircling bands, the outer embracing the rim. On the outside a figural design enters the linear decoration. The latter, apart from the paint covering the rim, is made up of four crossing stripes on the base; on the walls, of two encircling bands, and two sets of each three lines to frame the figural zone. This contains a series of six water birds painted in silhouette. They have much elongated, curved bodies, long S-curved necks and long bills. On inordinately spread legs with sprawling claws they walk in a row to the right.

The plate is made of a sifted buff clay. The paint fired various hues from orange to dark purplish brown. The plate was mended from three fragments. It is well preserved except for some surface abrasion mainly at the inside, the paint missing in parts.

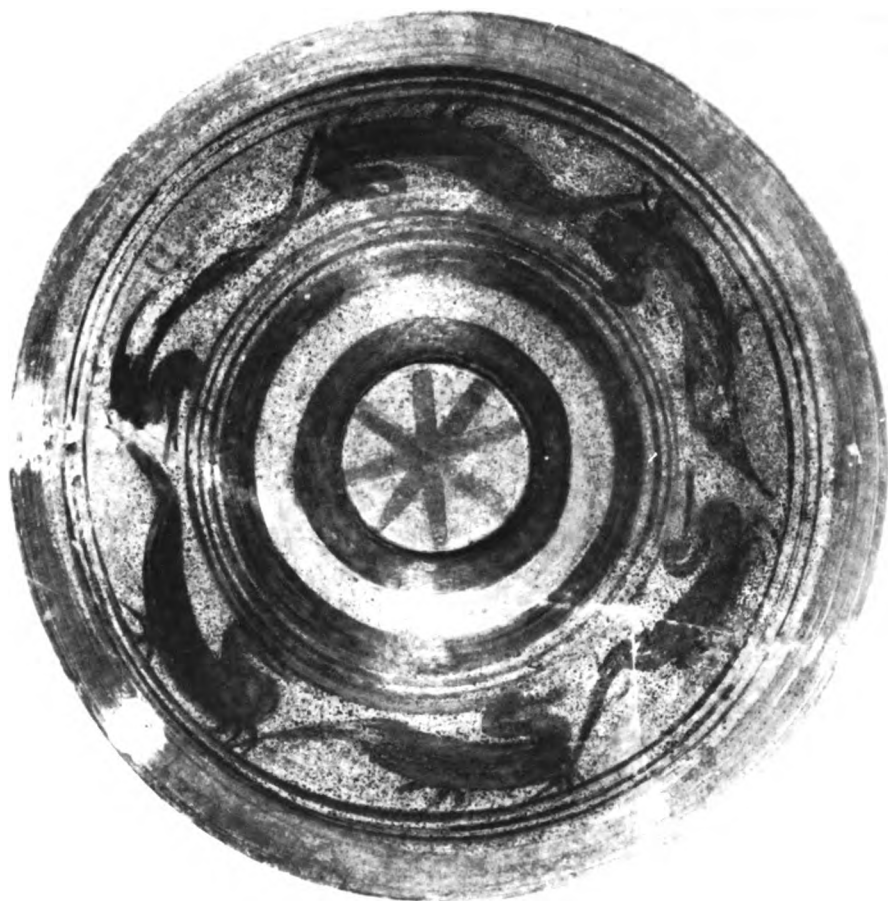
The plate is to be referred to a group of early Etruscan painted pottery distinguished by way of its dominant decorative theme of marching subgeometric birds arranged in a frieze. Vases carrying such decoration are of heterogeneous fabric. On the one hand birds were painted in red on pots of a light-coloured clay of fine texture termed *terra* or *argilla figulina*. This fabric was introduced into Italy from Greece. In general appearance the *terra figulina* pottery diverges considerably from vases of the darker and

much coarser *impasto*, which represents the indigenous tradition. Birds that occur on the latter are painted in white on a characteristically red, well burnished slip (the south Etruscan ‘Red-ware’), or in red on top of a layer of cream slip.

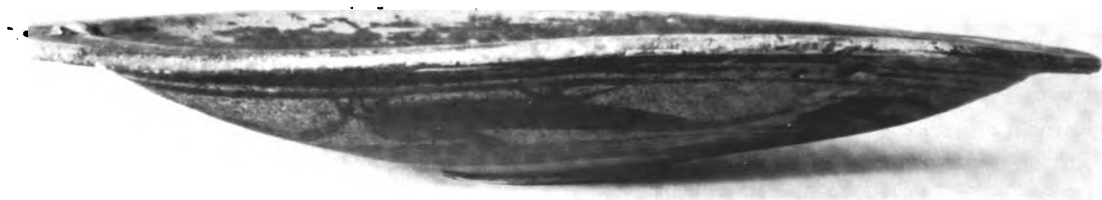
Our plate goes with the first, *terra figulina* class, which also comprises the following shapes: the deep footed bowl, the *oinochoe*, the jar. Apart from the bird frieze the decoration on these vases usually consists of encircling lines and bands. Following Gjerstad's terminology this is Italo-Archaic Decorated Ware.¹

The bird or *ad ‘aironi’* pottery (so denominated by Italians from the rather inappropriate ‘airone’, ‘heron’) is an ingredient of the orientalizing material culture of southern Etruria and, more specifically, that of a cultural province which has been recognized as comprising Cerveteri, Veii, Latium and the Faliscan area in archaic times.²

As for the bird plates, the vast majority of those with known contexts were found at Cerveteri, the rest of the documented finds covering the inland from Blera, San Giovenale and Monterano to Faliscan territory further eastwards.³ The rare fragments of plates excavated in Sicily clearly derive from southern Etruria.⁴ The fabric, the shape, the decoration are uniform along general lines. On the other hand there is heterogeneity in particulars. This is most evident in the case of the exterior decoration, involving the distribution of concentric bands and lines over the surface, the occasional inclusion of additional linear ornaments, the pose of the birds. There is reason to assume a locally differentiated out-put of the *ad ‘aironi’* plates, although Cerveteri on account of its combined chronological and quantitative precedence might have been the originator of the type and the main producer. The find contexts indicate a considerable span of time



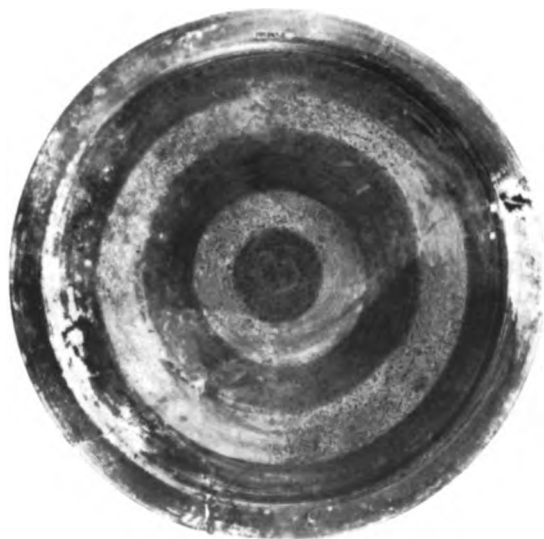
1-2. MM 1964:9.



for their production. Their introduction takes place within Pallottino's orientalizing third *facies*. In the tombs bird plates were often found together with objects like high pottery stands and impasto spiral amphorae typical for this *facies*.⁵ The Tomba "della Capanna" in Cerveteri, rich in impasto pottery but still without bucchero, is one of the earliest occurrences. The date of the tomb is 675–650 B.C.⁶ The San Giovenale specimens, whose exterior decoration seems more or less closely related to that of Cerveteri plates, have been dated to at least half a century later along with the tomb contents.⁷ Looking at the plates from Cerveteri and San Giovenale tombs stylistic evidence like the shape of the birds seems of doubtful value if used singly as chronologically indicative.⁸ Actually the question of an internally observable sequence within the principal unit of Caeretan plates has to be deferred until a thorough publication and evaluation has appeared both of the old material from Banditaccia and of that more recently excavated on Monte Abatone.

Returning to the plate in Medelhavsmuseet, its decoration comprising concentric bands and lines and a bird frieze comes closer to the illustrated plates from Cerveteri and San Giovenale (of Caeretan manufacture?) than to those found elsewhere that include subsidiary linear ornaments. The date should be somewhere within the second half of the seventh century and the early years of the sixth.

3. MM 1964:9.



For the pedigree of birds like those on our plate we have to turn to Greece. Unlikely as it may seem at the first glance, they derive from the water birds popular in Late Geometric vase decoration. The Greek birds occur both singly, especially in metopal frames, and as repetitive figures in friezes around the vessels. Greek painted vases incorporating birds were imported, produced locally and imitated in Etruria starting from the late eighth century.⁹ In the case of the plates under discussion, the connection with Greek pottery appears less clearly from the Etruscanized birds than from linear motifs like sets of sigmas and net of dotted lozenges which intervene as subsidiary ornaments on some plates from Blera, Monterano and Narce, as well as on a plate, of unknown provenience, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.¹⁰ The two mentioned motifs are common in the linear work of Early Protocorinthian, which continues the geometric tradition. Two plates more thorough-going geometric in decoration are possibly to be associated with the Warrior's Tomb at Tarquinia and thus of late eighth century date.¹¹ Neither has a bird frieze (though one has small-sized single birds) and both are of smaller dimensions than plates of our type. Still they share with our plate the crossing stripes on the outside of the base.

The Tarquinia plates show pronounced Greek stylistic affinities. The younger *ad "aironi"* plates, on the other hand, take us far away from Greek models into the domain of orientalizing, distinctly Etruscan vase painting. Here the decorative repertoire of Greek Geometric was kept on for quite a long time. A well-defined terra figulina class of subgeometric pottery connects southern coastal Etruria with Cumae. Pallottino in 1937 recommended circumspection to be used when trying to assess the various possible strands—earlier geometric of the same area, Protocorinthian, subgeometric Sicilian—going into its formation.¹² The same sense of the complexity should guide the study of the *ad "aironi"* pottery, which, as said above, is a subgeometric variety especially connected with Cerveteri and the territory under its influence. There is no modern comprehensive study on geometric and subgeometric wares in Etruria of Greek inspiration, still less on those of Italy at large.¹³

In the subgeometric context of southern Etruria the Greek bird started a notable yet ignoble career assuming a degenerate elongated shape which removed it much from its geometric predecessor in appearance. Furthermore, its execution in paint is often careless

the way it is on our plate, which is in fact of inferior quality both as regards shape and decoration. Such pottery, with little decorative variation, bears the stamp of a hasty production of some volume. The disfiguring elongation of animal shapes set in a frieze is a phenomenon of economy which contrasts strongly with the geometric preference to pack the friezes with close repetitive figures.

On southern Etruscan pottery the birds were not only represented in paint. Single birds were incised especially on spiral amphorae and skyphoi both of advanced impasto and of the earliest, thin-walled bucchero. They intruded upon other artistic fields, too, such as wall-painting and architectural terracotta.

An early chamber tomb from Veii exemplifies the former, painted roof-tiles, revetment plaques and cover-tile protomes from Acquarossa the latter.¹⁴ This all demonstrates the independence as a decorative motif which the borrowed Greek bird, dissociated from its original context, won for itself in the new artistic milieu of Etruria.¹⁵ The viability of the drooping-tailed bird makes itself felt not only through the diversity of the evidence but also in terms of geography. The bird occurs on a local impasto vase from Campovalano in the Abruzzo, not far from the Adriatic coast.¹⁶ It is a testimony along with others to Etruscan influence in the protohistoric culture of Picenum.

¹ Gjerstad, E., *Early Rome IV:1*, pp. 70–71.

² Colonna, G., *Etruria meridionale interna dal villanoviano alle tombe rupestri*, StEtr XXXV (1967), pp. 16 ff. Morandi, A., in *Gli Etruschi, Nuove ricerche e scoperte*, Viterbo 1972, p. 73. Colonna, G., *Ricerche sull'Etruria interna volsiniese*, StEtr XLI (1973), p. 47.

³ Cf. Colonna, StEtr XXXV (1967), p. 17, note 35. It is interesting to note that Tarquinia is not represented.—A list (not exhaustive) of published plates of known provenience: Cerveteri

Sorbo. Iron age necropolis. Fossa tombs. 2 specimens. Pohl, I., *The Iron Age Necropolis of Sorbo at Cerveteri*, Skifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, series in 4°, XXXII, Stockholm 1972, Tomb 20, p. 264 and fig. 267, 1; Tomb 21, p. 270 and fig. 269, 1.

Sorbo. Tomba Giulimondi. 3 specimens. Pareti, L., *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII a.C.*, Città del Vaticano 1947, items no. 498, 499, 500, pp. 406–407, Tavv. LXI (undiscernible) and LXII (decoration of one plate barely discernible).

Banditaccia, zona A "del Recinto". A group of early tumulus tombs of varying types, all in the same area, which is described in the publication as "la più intensiva parte arcaica della zona". C. 35 specimens at a low counting. Tum. I, tomba 2, Tum. II, tomba 11 "della Capanna", tombe 69, 71, 75, 78, 81, 84, 85, 86, 95(?). MonAnt XLII (1955), columns 220, 226–227, 350, 355, 481, 482, 484, 490, 492, 499, 503–504, 506, 509, 510, 511, 516, 517(?). Only four of these plates are illustrated: one from Tum. I, tomba 2 (fig. 11.2), two from tomba "della Capanna" (fig. 77.1 and 3) and one from tomb 79 (fig. 119.2, inside only).

Monte Abatone. Speaking of ad "aironi" pottery in StEtr XXXV (above note 2) Colonna gives a *passim* reference to *Materiali di Antichità Varia*, V, Roma 1966, which contains material from the Monte Abatone cemetery. This book was not available to me.—One plate from Monte Abatone is illustrated in Lerici, C.M., *Nuove testimonianze dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca*, Milano 1960: tomb 352, p. 46.

Veii

Montelius, O., *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Pl. 349, 12.

San Giovenale

Chamber tombs under tumuli in the necropoleis of Grotte Tufarina and Castellina Camerata. At least 3 specimens. San Giovenale, vol. I, fasc. 5, tomb G.T. 1, p. 102 and Pl. XLIX, 79; fasc. 7, tomb C.C. 1, p. 5 and Fig. 6, 7

Blera

Chamber tombs under tumuli. 2 specimens. RömMitt XXX (1915), Tumulus Plan 1:B16, p. 213f and Abb. 17. NSc 1932, Tomba 3, pp. 490–491 and Fig. 6 (undiscernible).

Monterano

One specimen. *Études Étrusco-Italiques*, 1963, p. 41 and Pl. VIII, 2.

Narce

Fossa tomb and chamber tombs in the necropoleis. 6 specimens. Hall Dohan, Edith, *Italic Tomb groups in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1942, Tomb 1, p. 55 and Pl. XXX.6. MonAnt IV (1894), tomb LIX, col. 527 and Fig. 141; tomb LXI, col. 530 (no picture).

⁴ Eloro. Two fragments probably of the same plate. *Archeologia nella Sicilia sudorientale* (exhibition catalogue), Soprintendenza alle Antichità Siracusa, 1973, no. 382, pp.

120–121 and Tav. XXXVIII; with a reference to two unpublished fragments from Gela.

⁵ Pallottino, M., *Sulle facies culturali arcaiche dell'Etruria*, *StEtr* XIII (1939), p. 108 and fig. 10. Cf. also Close-Brooks's type table for Veii, no. 76 ("uccello dipinto in stile fiorito"), of her phase IIIA, in *NSc* 1965, pp. 57 and 64.

⁶ Dohrn, T., in Helbig⁴, III, n. 2583. Hirschland Ramage, N., *Studies in Early Etruscan Buccherio*, *PBSR* XXXVIII (1970), p. 2.

⁷ San Giovenale, I:5, p. 104 and I:7, p. 8.

⁸ Cf. Pohl, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁹ For a Late Geometric skyphos decorated with birds found at Veii (Quattro Fontanili) and deemed an import by Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, pp. 370 and 425, see *NSc* 1963, p. 271 and Fig. 132 f. For pottery with birds produced locally by Greek or indigenous potters see Åkerström, Å., *Der geometrische Stil in Italien*, Lund-Leipzig 1943, *passim*, and Hencken, H., *Tarquinia, Villanovans and early Etruscans*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, figs 130b, 133b, 190a–c, 194b, and the relevant text. See also two recent papers in *Dialoghi di Archeologia* VIII (1974–1975): Canciani, F., *Un biconico dipinto da Vulci*, pp. 79–85; La Rocca, E., *Due tombe dell'Esquilino. Alcune novità sul commercio euboico in Italia Centrale nell'VIII secolo a.C.*, pp. 86–103.

¹⁰ Blera, Monterano and Narce plates: see above note 3. For

the Copenhagen plate see *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* XXX (1973), p. 51, Fig. 10.

¹¹ On the Warrior's Tomb cf. of late Ström, I., *Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style*, Odense 1971, pp. 141–145. Illustrations of the plates in Åkerström, *op. cit.*, Taf. 22, 1 and 3; Hencken, *op. cit.*, fig. 193a and b.—Cf. note 15 below.

¹² *MonAnt* XXXVI (1937), cols 217–218.

¹³ Much new material and knowledge has accumulated since 1943, when Åkerström's book (note 9) was published.

¹⁴ de Agostino, A., *La tomba delle Anatre a Veio*, *ArchCl* XV (1963), Tav. LXXXVI. Gli Etruschi, Nuove ricerche e scoperte, Tavv. VIIIb, IXa, and colour plate D opposite p. 80.

¹⁵ The logical starting-point of the motif in Etruria is the local terra figulina ware. Cf. Åkerström, *op. cit.*, p. 83, implicitly, in connection with one of the plates mentioned above from the Warrior's Tomb at Tarquinia: yet the actual bird to be seen on this plate, puny and white-painted, does not seem worthy of the designation "Prototypus" (of the Etruscan "Zweifüssler").

¹⁶ *Antiche civiltà d'Abruzzo* (exhibition catalogue), Roma, 1969, no. 164, pp. 72–73, Fig. 12, Tav. LXXXVI. Bianchi Bandinelli, R.—Giuliano, A., *Etruschi e Italici prima del dominio di Roma*, Milano 1973, fig. 115.

Two Candelabrum Pieces in the Collections of the Medelhavsmuseet

Astrid Sárkány

In the Collections of the Museum there are two candelabrum pieces with reliefs in Neo-Attic style. One of them, a cylindrical piece of candelabrum (MM 1970:4), was presented by King Gustaf VI Adolf in 1970 (Figs. 1–6). The other, a three-sided base (MM 1960:8), was purchased in Rome in 1960 (Figs. 7–9).

The cylindrical candelabrum piece (Figs. 1–6) is executed in white, fine-grained marble. The shape is practically cylindrical, yet somewhat tapered towards the top. Height 27 cm, diameter at the bottom 33 cm, at the top 31 cm.

The concave upper side is grooved and has in the centre a hole, probably secondarily drilled. The outer side of the cylinder is decorated with a relief, the height of which is 21 cm. Around the edge of the underside there is an egg and dart decoration and immediately inside it a garland of leaves. The centre of both the upper and the under side is unwrought, which proves that, originally, the object continued both upwards and downwards. It is uncertain which part of a candelabrum this is. It may be a part of the base but it seems more probable that it is a part of the shaft. The relief is decomposed and thus its height is very varying.

The relief represents six dancing female figures. The field is delimited by rhythmically repeated, flaming candelabra. The female figures glide along on tiptoe with short dancing steps. They have on their heads a *kalathos* set with upright reed leaves and are dressed in a short chiton with an overfold. The thin garment, reaching just below the knee, follows the body closely. Only the overfold and hem of the skirt flutter outwards in soft s-shaped lines as if to represent rhythmic movement.

The female figure a.) (Fig. 1.) moves on tiptoe to the right, her right leg somewhat in front of her left. Her

right arm is stretched out obliquely downwards behind her body. Her right hand is bent at an angle upwards. Her left arm is raised on a level with her breast, the open palm of her left hand turned towards the flaming candelabrum.

The candelabrum a.) has a three-sided base. The sides consist of a rectangular, smooth field with a bent-up edge and a suggestion of feet resembling lion's paws. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure b.) (Fig. 2.) moves to the left, her left leg somewhat in front of her right. She is identical with female figure a.) though reversed and her head is more pronouncedly bent forward.

The candelabrum b.). The base consists of two sphinxes with female heads. They are depicted sitting with their backs towards each other. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure c.) (Fig. 3.) moves to the right, her right leg somewhat in front of her left. Her arms are raised on a level with her breast, her hands obscure. Her head is turned backwards. Her glance is directed backwards, downwards. The upper part of her body is twisted markedly backwards. The movement conveys the impression that the dancer was depicted with the upper part of the body *en face* and the lower part in profile. The part of the candelabrum at the figure's feet is chipped off.

The candelabrum c.) is very much decomposed. The base consists of two sea monsters resting on a smooth, cylindrical base. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure d.) (Fig. 4.) is very much decomposed. She moves to the left, her left leg somewhat in front of her right. Her right arm stretched forwards. Her hand is half-closed in a gesture directed towards



1. MM 1970:4.



2. MM 1970:4.

3. MM 1970:4.



4. MM 1970:4.





5. MM 1970:4.



6. MM 1970:4.

the flame. Her left arm bent on a level with her breast. Her hand impossible to discern. Her left foot is chipped off.

The candelabrum d.). The base consists of two sphinxes with bearded men's heads and big lion's paws. They are depicted turned away from each other. Their wings are placed diagonally towards each other. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure e.) (Fig. 5.) moves to the right, her right leg in front of her left. Both arms stretched upwards, slightly bent in front of her body. Her hands bent upwards, backwards with the palms turned towards the flaming candelabrum. Her right arm executed in full relief. Her left arm stands out in low relief behind her right. Her head is turned backwards.

The candelabrum e.). The shape of the base is rectangular with curved sides. It is somewhat narrower on top than at the bottom. A raised edge encloses the field, which represents an erote in relief. The erote dances or runs to the left, arms out-stretched. He has small wings, only one of which is executed. The shaft is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The female figure f.) (Fig. 6.) moves to the left, her right leg in front of her left. Her right arm is out-stretched obliquely upwards in front of her body. Her right hand is bent upwards, the palm turned towards

the flaming candelabrum. Her left arm is outstretched obliquely downwards behind her body. Her left hand is bent at an angle upwards. Only the thumb is stretched out straight backwards.

The candelabrum f.). The base consists of two satyrs. They are depicted with their backs towards each other. Bent as if by the weight, they support with both arms and heads the shaft, which is decorated with acanthus leaves.

The dancers on the cylindrical candelabrum piece are kalathiskos dancers or, as they are also called, caryatids, i.e. noble Lacedaemon girls who, dressed in short chitons, performed a cult dance at a festival for Artemis. The festival was arranged once a year at Karyae, a place on the border between Laconia and Arcadia. Hence the name caryatids, which is not very convenient since it is also used in another sense in architecture. Kalathiskos dancers is a better word, which I shall use in this paper.

It associates to the basket-shaped (κάλαθος=basket) headgear of the dancers, which was decorated with pointed reed leaves. Pliny¹ mentions a now lost work by Callimachos, the so-called *Saltantes Lacenae*. In this are depicted dancers placed in pairs and executed in bronze as applications on a round base. They have been identified by Wolters with the Spartan

girls.² The dancers on the cylindrical candelabrum piece in our Museum probably originally go back to Callimachos's work from the end of the fifth century B.C. It should, however, be mentioned that kalathiskos dancers appeared in conjunction with various cults, also outside the Doric mainland, above all in the Ionian area. On coins from Abdera from the end of the fifth century B.C.³ there are representations of kalathiskos dancers.⁴ Werner Fuchs, who made a modern and exhaustive investigation of the Neo-Attic material puts forward the hypothesis that an imitation casting of Callimachos's work, which was intended for Karyae, may have been put up in Athens.⁵ This would explain the kalathiskos dancers on the coins from Abdera at the time of the Attic-Delian naval league. During the Augustan era and also during the Late Empire, the kalathiskos dancers were a very popular motif with the Neo-Attic artists. A number of reliefs bearing this motif are preserved. One of the most noteworthy representations is the Augustan marble relief in Berlin.⁶ Another example is the Late Hadrian, or possibly Early Antoninian relief from the Villa Albani in Rome.⁷ Fuchs is certain that the Neo-Attic kalathiskos dancers do not go back to Ionian prototypes but to a famous monument from the end of the fifth century B.C., i.e. Callimachos.⁸ He intimates that Callimachos may have come from the Ionian area and, in this way, wants to connect the Ionian and Doric pictorial traditions as far as the kalathiskos dancers are concerned. Reliefs from the early Neo-Attic period with kalathiskos dancers are not preserved. In this context it is interesting to observe that Gisela Richter maintains that the dies used in the production of Arretine pottery were mechanic replicas of earlier Greek silver objects.⁹ Thus, there would seem to be a possibility, through Arretine pottery, to gain an idea of now lost representations of dancers from the early Neo-Attic period. As decorative figures they were introduced into Rome during the first century B.C.¹⁰ Their somewhat aloof grace was in keeping with the taste of the time. Fuchs and Dragendorff-Watzinger have made typological classifications of preserved Neo-Attic kalathiskos dancers in an attempt to reconstruct Callimachos's work.¹¹

They start from the direction of the dancers' movements and the position of their arms. None of the dancing female figures on the cylindrical candelabrum piece corresponds to Fuchs's types. The female figure c.) corresponds to Dragendorff-Watzinger's type 3.¹²

The female figure d.) corresponds to Dragendorff-Watzinger's Perrenius type 4.¹³ The remaining four female figures have no exact counterparts. The female figures on the cylindrical candelabrum piece in our Museum show resemblances to the kalathiskos dancers on the Arretine pottery, a fact that should be considered when dating them. On pottery from the Rasinius workshop¹⁴ the dancers—like those on our candelabrum piece—are antithetically turned towards each other and their headgear is not basket-shaped but has the form of crown of reed leaves.

On early Arretine pottery the dancers are occasionally separated by pillars, columns or tripods on relief-decorated round altars. This calls to mind the cylindrical candelabrum piece of our Museum where the dancers are separated by candelabra with relief-decorated or sculptured bases. Moreover, in spite of the dissimilar character of the material, the resemblance in lines and folds is striking.

The representation on our candelabrum piece implies knowledge of Arretine ware with motifs of kalathiskos dancers. Only two dancers have been directly borrowed from the prototype. The remaining four are, as far as attitude and movement pattern are concerned, somewhat varied. The fact that direct imitation and individual variation occur and are mingled in one and the same work of art is typical of the Neo-Attic style of art. The Arretine pottery flourishes for a comparatively short period, which begins in ca. 25 B.C. and ends in ca. 25 A.D.¹⁵ In view of the close connection, both in terms of style and motif, between the representation on our candelabrum piece and, in particular, the early Arretine pottery, the piece can be dated to the beginning of the first century A.D.

The three-sided candelabrum base (Figs. 7-9.) is executed in fine-grained white marble. The shape is almost rectangular, yet somewhat tapering towards the top. Height 30.5 cm, largest breadth 24.5 cm.

Each side has a pictorial representation in relief. The fields are delimited by a raised edge. The object is a part of a candelabrum base. At the top it is chipped or hewn off above the field. At the bottom, some of the reliefs are chipped off. The relief represents:

Side a.) (Fig. 7.) A sacrificing Victory turned to the left. The head in profile, the body a quarter of a turn to the left. She has a plump face and a girlish, slim figure. Large wings, only one of which is executed covering almost the whole field behind her. She is dressed in a thin, girdled chiton with an overfold.



7. MM 1960:8.

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The garment follows the body closely streaming out behind at the bottom, as if driven by the wind. A swallowtailed flap of the overfold flutters out in front. She keeps her left arm bent close to the body. In her left hand she holds a bowl. She keeps her right arm slightly bent and raised high in front of her, and between her thumb and index finger she holds an *oinochoe*, out of which she pours a liquid offering. The liquid is depicted as an embossed ribbon coiling down into the bowl. Her hair is gathered in a side pad and two buns at the back of the head. The base is here chipped off on a level with the figure's knee.

On both sides, the goddess is flanked by satyrs. To the left of her, *side b.*) (Fig. 8.), a naked satyr turned to the left. The head and the lower part of the body in profile. The upper part of the body a quarter of a turn to the right. He takes a dancing step forward, left leg in front of right. He holds his left arm behind his back. Over the left forearm hangs a panther's fell. In his left hand he holds a short stick, *pedum* or *logobolon*. He holds his right arm stretched out in front of him. In the right hand there is an object which is impossible to identify. He has short, curly hair, horns in the forehead, a muscular body and a goat's tail. The base is here chipped off just below the figure's knee.

To the right of the goddess, *side c.*) a naked satyr turned to the right (Fig. 9.). Head and lower part of body in profile. The upper part of the body a quarter of a turn to the left. He has short, curly hair, horns in the forehead, a muscular body and a goat's tail. He takes one step forward, left leg in front of right. He holds his right arm behind his back. In his right hand he holds a *pedum* or *logobolon*. He holds his left arm stretched out in front of him. Over the arm hangs a panther's fell. In his left hand he holds a hare. Below the panther's fell is seen the head of a barking dog, which probably jumped up towards the game. Behind the satyr there is a relief fragment which resembles the nose of another dog. There is a crack across the shoulder of the satyr.

Kalathiskos dancers were such a popular motif that they were remodelled at an early date. They were given wings and were used as Victories or genies.¹⁶ That they are really dancers is apparent from the gestures of their hands and the garment, the short chiton. Dragendorff-Watzinger gives as the earliest example of such a re-model a Neo-Attic relief from the early Augustan era with a framed pictorial field in the collections of the Vatican Museum.¹⁷ On Arretine pottery,

too, there are representations of re-modelled dancers. They are dressed in a short chiton with an overfold. The garment barely reaches the knee. They have fairly large wings. The hair is gathered in a bun at the back of the head. There is no *kalathos*. This Victory type holds, right hand raised and left hand lowered, a festoon. There are two variants, one turned to the left, the other—which is otherwise exactly similar—is turned to the right.¹⁸

Examples of such re-models in which the dancer motif has been merged with the Victory motif, are frequent. I will mention some additional examples.

On the armour of a statue in the Vatican Museum are represented two Victory figures.¹⁹ It appears clearly that they are kalathiskos dancers, who have been provided with wings. They are dressed in a short garment and stand on either side of a palladium. They stand or move on tiptoe. The one to the left is performing a cult dance. The one to the right is turned to the left, both arms stretched up towards the idol. Kalathiskos dancers in similar compositions occur also on other armour statues, e.g. at Turin.²⁰

In a stucco relief from a vaulted ceiling in the Terme Museum in Rome there is a representation of two kalathiskos dancers re-modelled into Victory figures.²¹ One is turned to the right, the other to the left. They are dressed in a short chiton, which barely reaches the knee. They have large wings. There is no *kalathos*. They hold one hand raised, pouring out of a vessel, which they hold between the thumb and the index finger, the liquid offering down into a bowl, which they hold in the other hand.

A stucco relief from the Casa Farnesina in Rome represents a Victory, who still clearly reveals her origin from the kalathiskos dancer, though her dress is longer.²² It is here almost ankle-length. She has large wings and stands or moves dancing on tiptoe to the left. She holds, right hand raised and left lowered, a helmet. The dress billows out as if pressed by a rhythmic movement showing the left leg bare up to above the knee. The treatment of the folds is akin to that of the kalathiskos dancer of our candelabrum piece.

In a series of reliefs²³ there is a Victory representation which is of particular interest in this context. This motif is frequent also on Arretine ware.²⁴ The motif is part of a composition, which also comprises Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Victory stands turned to the left and is dressed in a long, archaizing garment. Her right hand raised high, she pours the liquid offering out of the vessel. Her hair is gathered in a bun



8. MM 1960:8.



9. MM 1960:8.

at the back of her head. Apollo, Artemis and Leto originally belonged to the same composition. They go back to a prototype from the third century B.C.²⁵ Their voluminous garments in Hellenistic style, combined with fold motifs in archaizing style, contrast against the more superficially linear fold treatment of the Victory figure. This is particularly obvious when we observe the swallowtailed overfold of the garment. This difference is found on all good replicas, also on Arretine pottery. Besides, the Victory figure on most of these reliefs is smaller than the other deities. The hair style, too, is different. Apollo, Artemis and Leto have long, archaizing curls at the back of the head, whereas the hair of the Victory figure makes it clear that, originally, she did not belong to the triad of deities. She was added later. Schmidt is of the opinion that she was added to the composition during the Augustan era.²⁶ He does not say whence she comes, but a close examination and a comparison with re-modelled kalathiskos dancers clearly show that, in spite of the long, archaizing garment, she belongs to this group. It is interesting to note that the re-modelled dancers in the stucco relief from the vaulted ceiling in the Terme Museum in Rome not only have wings but also hold, in their lowered hand, an offering vessel. The position of the arms, which earlier indicated the movement of the dance, have now gained another significance. Movement, attitude and the gracefully sprawling fingers of the high-raised hand remind us of the Victory type occurring on the series of reliefs mentioned above.

The Victory in the stucco relief from the Casa Farnesina in Rome does not hold an offering bowl but a helmet, yet the attitude of the arms is practically the same as that of the above-mentioned reliefs. The Casa Farnesina Victory is not dressed in the short garment, usually worn by the dancers, but in an ankle-length chiton with an overfold. The fold treatment resembles representations of kalathiskos dancers, whereas the length of the garment calls to mind the Victory type with the long garment which is found on the reliefs mentioned above.

The type of Victory figure which occurs on these reliefs is represented on a stucco relief from a villa near the Casa Farnesina dated to Augustan times.²⁷ She is a slim, girlish figure with large wings. She stands turned to the left, the right leg somewhat in front of the left. She is dressed in a long chiton with an overfold, the swallowtailed flap of which is bent somewhat outwards. On her head she wears a narrow

crown with three points. She holds her right arm raised high and between the thumb and index finger she holds an *oinochoe*, out of which she pours the liquid offering into the bowl that she is holding in her lowered left hand.

The Victory on our three-sided candelabrum piece belongs to the same type as the dancer re-modelled on the series of reliefs and as the Victory on the relief from the villa near the Casa Farnesina. The base is chipped off at the figure's knee, but the design of the dress suggests that the garment was long.

The Victory on the relief from the villa near the Casa Farnesina is somewhat slimmer and more graceful of design than on the three-sided base, which would largely be due to the different character of stucco and marble. As to attitude and style in other respects, as, for instance, the large wings and the fold treatment of the garment, the two reliefs are so similar that they must be very close in time.

The execution of both is characterized by the decorative style of Augustan classicism, and our three-sided base, too, can be dated to the beginning of the first century A.D.

The two satyrs represented on base sides b.) and c.) belong to Hauser's group 17.²⁸ There is a parallel on a round base in the Louvre. It goes back to a prototype from the early third century B.C.²⁹

Both representations on the candelabra pieces of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities are characterized by the Neo-Attic style. When treating of a Neo-Attic work of art, one should seek its prototype and the date when it was executed and, if possible, also the place where it was made.

The candelabra pieces dealt with here are executed in Carrara marble, which began to be quarried in the middle of the first century B.C. Consequently, they were probably made on Italian soil at some time after the middle of the first century B.C.

Occasionally, the dating of a Neo-Attic work of art is made more difficult since it is always characterized by the contemporary style of its prototype. Mainly on style-critical grounds, the two candelabra pieces in our Museum are dated to the beginning of the first century A.D.

It is interesting to follow the development of the kalathiskos dancers from Callimachos's *Saltantes Lacenae* to the sacrificing Victory in her long, archaizing garment. This re-modelling illustrates well the eclectically imitating nature of Neo-Attic art. There is some innovation, but this is rather the result of varia-

tions of a familiar theme and can never be compared to the art that expresses the subjectively creating will of an artist.

Translation by N. Stedt.

- ¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXXIV, 34.92.
- ² Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, No. 6, 1895.
- ³ J. May, The coinage of Abdera (540–345 B.C.), London 1966.
- ⁴ Ibid., Pls. 313–315.
- ⁵ W. Fuchs, Die Vorbilder der Neuattischen Reliefs, Berlin 1959, p. 95.
- ⁶ F. Weege, Der Tanz in der Antike, Halle 1926, Abb. 49.
- ⁷ Ibid., Abb. 52.
- ⁸ Fuchs, op.cit., p. 92.
- ⁹ G. Richter, Three critical periods in Greek sculpture, Oxford 1951, p. 51.
- ¹⁰ H. Dragendorff–C. Watzinger, Arretinische Reliefkeramik, Reutlingen 1948, p. 56.
- ¹¹ Fuchs, op.cit., p. 92 and Dragendorff–Watzinger, op.cit., p. 55.
- ¹² Dragendorff–Watzinger, op.cit., p. 121.
- ¹³ Ibid., p. 55.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., Taf. 1.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 17.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 60.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 60.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 64.
- ¹⁹ W. Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums, II, Berlin 1908, Taf. 45.
- ²⁰ H. Dutschke, Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien, Leipzig 1884, p. IV.
- ²¹ E. Löwy, Neuattische Kunst, Leipzig 1922, Taf. 31.
- ²² Weege, op.cit., Abb. 53.
- ²³ Th. Schreiber, Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder, Leipzig 1889, Taf. XXXIV–XXXVI.
- ²⁴ Dragendorff–Watzinger, op.cit., p. 61.
- ²⁵ E. Schmidt, Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom, München 1922.
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 61.
- ²⁷ G. Becatti, L'arte Romana, Milano 1962, p. 63.
- ²⁸ F. Hauser, Die Neuattischen Reliefs, Stuttgart 1889, p. 1.
- ²⁹ Fuchs, op.cit., p. 151.

A Selection of Some Recent Acquisitions

Bengt Peterson & Marie-Louise Winbladh

1. Made of translucent banded alabaster of high quality this vessel is an outstanding example of the skilled handicraft at the very beginnings of Pharaonic Egypt. It is a cylinder jar with a rounded brim, slightly concave sides and a base not entirely flat. Its sole decoration is a cord line below the brim. This type of vessel is characteristic of the 1st Dynasty and is used in the tomb equipments of that period.

Given by Mrs Ann Nordmark.

MME 1975:12. Height 11.1 cm. Outer brim diameter 9.9 cm.

Egypt. 1st Dynasty. C. 3000 B.C.

B. P.



2. The blue-glazed shawabti of the Lady Nestanebasheru has eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs containing the traditional version of the 6th Book of the Dead chapter. The hieroglyphs, the divisional lines as well as other details, eyes, wig, hoes and basket, are painted in black. The right arm and both hands have been slightly repaired in modern times.

The figures belonging to this Lady were found in the Royal Cache in Western Thebes explored by G. Maspero in 1881 and onwards. In this tomb were hidden the mummies of the Theban priest-kings of the 21st Dynasty and those of their relatives as well as their belongings. Inscribed on the shawabti occurs one of Nestanebasheru's official titles "*Chief of the Superior Ladies*" connected with the Royal harim. She was the daughter of Pinodjem II and his first wife Lady Nesikhonsu. Her figure is a most welcome addition to the Stockholm Collection as those of her parents and her half-sister, the divine adoratrice Henuttaui were acquired previously (MME 1961:121, 1961:122 and 1965:14). With the exception of Pinodjem's second wife Isetemkhebi the family is complete. It is superfluous to add that the figures of Nesitanebasheru and her relatives are contained in collections all over the world (cf J. F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 139 ff.).

Bequeathed by Mr Sven Kinnwall.

MME 1975:72. Height 14.5 cm.

Egypt. 21st Dynasty. 10th century B.C.

B. P.





3. The faience figure, blue-green with black details, represents the goddess Sakhmet-Bastet. She is a standing woman, left leg advanced, and has a lion's head. She wears a long garment close to the body. On her head, dressed in a wig, there is a raised cobra. In her left hand she holds a papyrus sceptre in front of her while the right arm is at her side. Its damaged hand may have held an attribute like the life-sign. The wig and the head of the cobra are black; the rest of the figure has the uniform blue-green glaze.

The back shows a dorsal pillar at the top of which there is a loop for the suspension of the figure. On the pillar an inscription is incised:

𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵

4. A unique bronze figure of the god Thot shows interesting iconographical details. The god appears as a man with the head of an ibis, the eyes of which are inlaid with gold. The head is dressed in a wig but has a lock of hair at the right hand side. Further the head is crowned by a moon disk resting in a moon sickle. In his right hand the god holds a *wdj*-eye at the breast while the left clenched hand is held outstretched. The only dress worn is a royal skirt. The god is advancing, his left foot first. At this left leg there are represented the heads of two jackals.

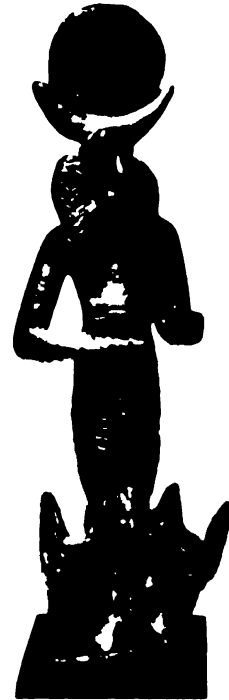
There are few parallels to the iconographical features of this statuette (cf *Brooklyn Museum, Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, Brooklyn 1956, No. 45*) but there is no difficulty to interpret them. Thot is the lord of the moon as indicated by the crown but he is also the active participant in the mythological drama between Horus and Seth. Thot brings the lost moon-eye to Hours. Thus he is here carrying the eye. The lock of hair may have its origin in the close interrelationship, even identity, between Thot and Khonsu, this common attribute of the latter having been adapted by Thot. At last, the jackals are Wepwawet, the double representation of his being a symbol of the two halves of heaven and the turningpoint of sun and moon (cf *H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, 843*).

Bequeathed by Mr Sven Kinnwall. Formerly in the MacGregor Collection.

MME 1975:32. Height 9.1 cm.

Egypt. Late Period. Middle of Last Millenium B.C.

B. P.





5. Cycladic marble chalice with flaring foot. White, translucent marble with large crystals (Parian?). The surface is somewhat encrusted and has a faint greyish patina. The cup proper is damaged at rim and has traces of red colour inside.

It is a well-known fact that the people of the Cyclades produced stonework of excellent craftsmanship in the Bronze Age. The same kind of marble vases, as the piece in the Medelhavsmuseet, were common offerings in the graves to furnish the dead with gifts for the afterlife. Their skilfulness made it possible to create shapes of elegance and graceful simpleness, which made these vases attractive objects of export,

also often found on the mainland.

More difficult is to find a reason for the colour traces inside the cup. In several tombs in the Cyclades vessels with colour pigments or lumps of red and blue colour have been found. According to Christian Zervos (*L'Art des Cyclades*, Paris 1957), this colour was used to smear the deceased, maybe as a magic rite and part of the funeral ceremony.

MM 1975:6. Height: 8 cm. Diam. of mouth: 12 cm.
Early Cycladic III period. 2200–2000 B.C.

M.-L. W.

6. Mycenaean terracotta figurine of the *Phi* type. Discoid body with plastic breasts, columnar stem with flaring base and pinched face with painted features. On the back a long, plastic plait broken off at top. Cracked surface and chipped base. The figure is slightly lending to her right side and has the arms bent at her sides. Ochrecoloured clay with buff slip, decorated with wavy stripes in light brown paint.

In the Aegean area during the Bronze Age all religious thought was concentrated upon a Mother Goddess. Small figurines of abstract form, like our piece, possibly served as idols of such a female deity. They usually come from tombs where they were placed as gifts to the dead. Many were, however, also found in sanctuaries and house deposits, which may indicate a domestic function.

This kind of figurines have been discovered in a great number of excavated sites of the Late Bronze Age and probably derive from a mass production. Because of stylistic evidences, the figurine in the Medelhavsmuseet seems to belong to the Mycenaean III B period, which means a date of about the 13th Century B.C.

MM 1975:4. Height: 11 cm. Width of body: 4.5 cm.

Mycenaean III B period. 13th Century B.C.

M.-L. W.





7. A Roman relief of rectangular form. Medium-grained, greyish-white marble with greyish veins. It also shows a faint greyish-brown patina. The top and right side of the slab seems to have been dressed level with the claw-chisel. The back, bottom and left side are very roughly worked. On the back and bottom there are remains of white plaster; probably ancient. The surface of the relief proper is rather chipped.

The relief probably represents men transferring wine from a merchantman to a riverboat. The large ship is furnished with a projecting fore-foot, intended to protect the prow. The sails are furled. One of the men is unloading the wine into the smaller boat, where the other is pouring it out into a large vessel. This scene

may be compared with similar ones on mosaics and reliefs from Ostia, the ancient harbour town of Rome. The Ostian reliefs in terracotta or marble could be intended for funeral or business premises. At the tomb they represented the trade of the deceased. The interest in the Stockholm relief lies in its realism and details, which makes it an informative and valuable piece of art.

MM 1975:1. Height: 27 cm. Length: 48 cm. Thickness: 7 cm.

Roman, It is most plausibly to be assigned to the 2nd Century A. D.

M.-L. W

8. A Roman gold-coloured flask, iridescent in green, made of blown glass. Tall, slender and cylindrical neck, constricted at base and with a folded rim. Round the spherical body is an engraved horizontal line. The flask was probably intended for toilet-use, i.e. to contain sweet-smelling essences.

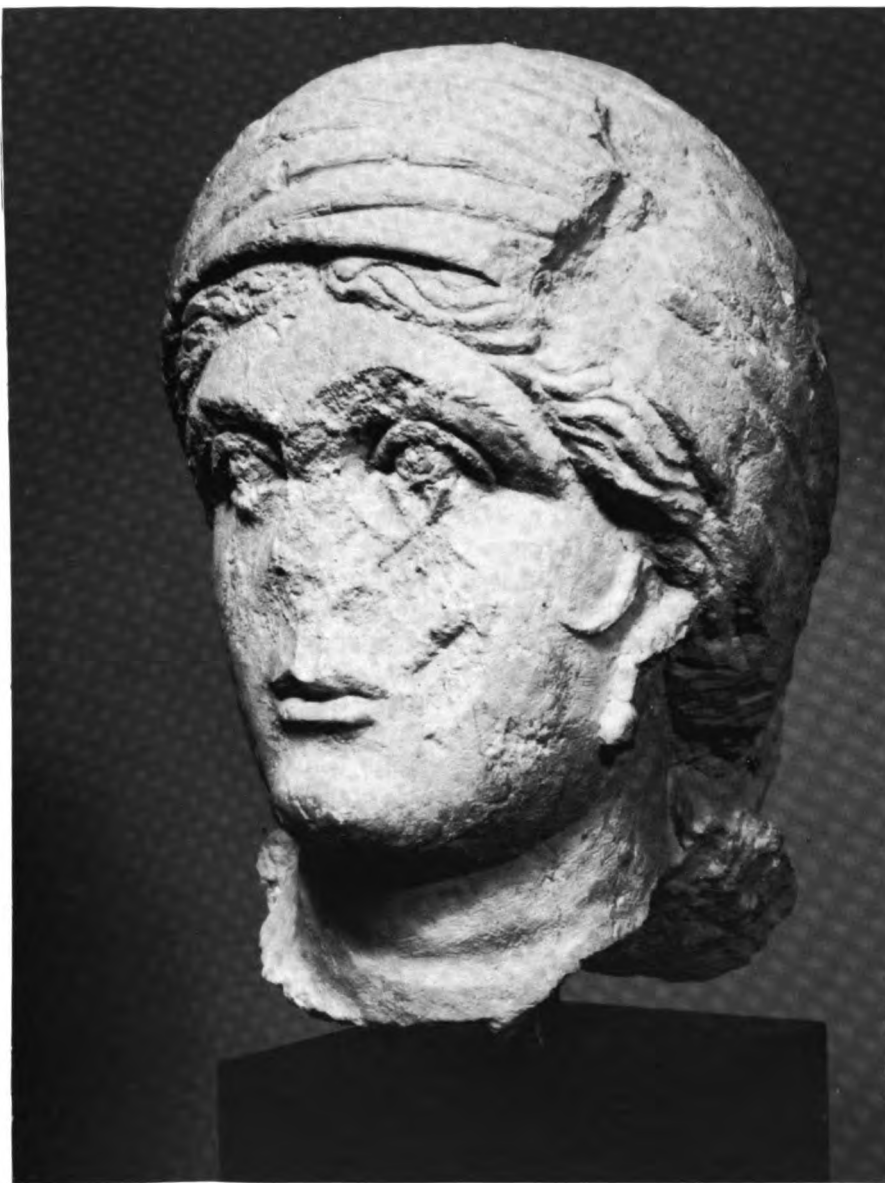
The manufacturing of glass became a very widespread industry due to the invention of glass-blowing in Roman times, which made possible cheap mass-production. From the 1st Century A.D. glass was made in all the Roman provinces—from Brittany to Syria, from Gallia to Africa. An important quantity was produced in the foundries of the local centres, representing every kind of glass from cheaper ware for domestic use to luxury articles. The long-necked unguentaria or perfume-bottles, which in all probability contained oil or unguents, were very frequent.

MM 1975:5. Height: 19 cm. Diam. of body: 8.6 cm.

Roman. Probably from Syria. 4th Century A.D. or later.

M.-L. W.





9. Roman head of a woman, possibly broken away from a grave-relief. Hard, whitish limestone with faint golden patina. The surface is rather badly chipped. The nose, part of the cheek and a section of the head above left eye-brow is missing.

The woman has her head slightly turned to her right. She has centrally-parted, wavy hair brushed up over the ears. One single lock is visible on each cheek. Otherwise the hair seems to be bound up in a kind of sakkos, i.e. a piece of cloth which covered the hair like a cap. She is also wearing ear-rings

with pendants. The eyes have incised irises and drilled pupils. There are traces of red pigments on her mouth.

As may be seen from a comparison with the Palmyrene grave-reliefs from the Late Roman Period, the style of our head seems of about the same epoch.

Given by the Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet.

MM 1975:7. Height: 29 cm.

Roman. Probably from Syria. 3rd Century A.D.

M.-L. W.

Activities 1974–1976

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period January 1st 1974–June 30th 1976 the efforts continued to get the building program of the Medelhavsmuseet (see Bull. 9, 1974, p. 74) approved by the Ministry of Education. In the meantime a new authority, The Cultural Council of the State, was founded and the whole affair had to be submitted to this Council by the Ministry. On March 3rd 1976 the Council proposed a definite building program for the Museum, which involved only a few modifications in comparison with the program proposed by the Museum. Thus the proposition has once more been remitted to the Ministry, this time for the final decision.

From July 1st 1975 the Medelhavsmuseet has been included in a new organization, The Swedish Central Office of National Antiquities and Historical Museums. This organization consists of the Swedish Central Office of National Antiquities (divided into four departments), the Library of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, three museums (The Museum of National Antiquities, The Royal Coin Cabinet and The Medelhavsmuseet) and The Technical Institute. This institute is divided into three departments (general conservation, conservation of textiles and photography). For the Medelhavsmuseet the new organization has resulted in a most welcome strengthening of the personnel and material resources.

During the period under discussion the most important acquisition was the collection bequeathed to the Museum by the late King Gustaf VI Adolf. Since the 1930's he had continuously supplied first the Egyptian Museum and, after the foundation of the Medelhavsmuseet in 1954, this new museum with magnificent works of art, keeping only a comparatively insignificant collection for himself. From this, 18 objects have now been added to the Egyptian Department. Among

these two elegant shawabtis of faience from c. 500 B.C. from the tomb of the high official Neferibresaneith at Sakkara as well as a stone vase from Pharaoh Djoser's pyramid may be mentioned. The Graeco-Roman Department has received about 40 objects. About 15 of these were vases, about 15 were sculptures or sculptural fragments, 4 were glass vessels and 2 were silver bowls. The majority of these objects are Greek, others are Roman, Etruscan and Near Eastern. Most interesting are the silver bowls, which are of Parthian origin and of Late Hellenistic date. One of the sculptures is an Etrusco-Italic votive head of terracotta with traces of red paint representing a young man with curly hair. The head, which can be dated to c. 100 B.C., was a gift from Pope Paul VI. Among the vases there was an Attic Geometric pyxis with three horses on the lid and an Etruscan Black-Figure amphora from c. 510–500 B.C. with a representation of four sphinxes and a siren. The last mentioned vase was a gift from the Italian president G. Saragat. From the Hellenistic period there is a South-Italian Red-Figure kantharos with a representation of a chariot with two white horses.

In 1975 the Egyptian Department received a collection of 52 objects, which were bequeathed to the Museum by Mr Sven Kinnwall. The collection contained outstanding objects of wood, bronze and faience, some of them unique.

Among other Egyptian acquisitions the following may be mentioned: A bronze cat, 7 cms high, of excellent workmanship; two relief fragments from Tell El Amarna; a stele of the Emperor Tiberius in pharaonic style; a mummy portrait, and two Coptic reliefs. Moreover the collection of Islamic pottery from Fustat has been enlarged by about one hundred fragments, some of them with the signatures of the artists pre-

served.

The Graeco-Roman Department has received or acquired some important objects. Magnificent is a gold wreath of Hellenistic date, which consists of numerous gold leaves put together to form a wreath. A Roman relief of marble has representations of two men unloading a ship. This relief is a good example of the type of realistic Roman reliefs showing scenes from everyday life. The Society of Friends of the Museum has given a female head of limestone of the Roman imperial period in Syria. Among other objects the following may be mentioned: A Cycladic marble vase, a Mycenaean figurine, a Greek Archaic kothon, a Hellenistic Tanagra statuette, a Roman glass vessel, two seals from Mohenjo-daro and a small collection of Gandhara sculptures.

The series of exhibitions continued as actively as before. In April and May 1974, there was shown "Archaeology", an exhibition of new books by British archaeologists on excavations and finds in England, the Mediterranean and the Near East. In connection with the exhibition several lectures on Minoan archaeology were given by Dr Peter Warren from the University of Birmingham.

In the autumn 1974 the international travelling exhibition "Ethiopia-Christian Tradition" was presented to the Swedish public. At the same time the Museum (from its own collections) supplied the Gothenburg Archaeological Museum with a sizable exhibition of Cypriote antiquities as a substitute for the Pierides Collection, which could not be transported from Larnaca as planned because of the Cyprus crises.

At the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities the Museum participated in showing the collection bequeathed to the Nobel Foundation by the Nobel prize winner Georg von Békésy. One hundred of these objects are of Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern origin and have been given to the Museum on permanent loan.

The travelling exhibition of Egyptian antiquities from the collections of the Museum started in the autumn 1973 and ended in the spring 1975 after having been shown in thirteen towns from the north to the south of Sweden.

In February and March 1975 the Museum had the opportunity to present information about the UNESCO-project to save Carthage in the exhibition "Expedition Kartago" at the Museum of National Antiquities.

From October to December 1975 the international travelling exhibition "Akhenaten and Nefertiti" with

objects from the Cairo and Luxor museums was shown at the National Museum with enormous success. The Medelhavsmuseet organized the Swedish show and supplied catalogue, text and photo exhibits as well as audiovisual materials, and a series of lectures, while Belgium was responsible for its distribution. The exhibition was shown also in Austria, West Germany, Denmark and Norway. Following the invitation of the Medelhavsmuseet guest lectures were given by Dr Geoffrey Martin, London, and Dr Ali el Khouli, Cairo.

From October 1975 to March 1976 the Museum participated in the exhibition "Women of Ancient Times" at the Museum of National Antiquities on the occasion of the International Women's Year.

Also successful was the unpretentious exhibition "Santorin-Volcanic Ruin" in February and March 1976. More than five hundred guests including King Carl Gustaf and the Greek Ambassador G. Kapsambelis attended discussions at a symposium on the volcanic catastrophe on Thera under the chairmanship of Dr Carl M:son Mannerfelt, himself a geologist and the new chairman of the board of the Society of Friends of the Museum.

In connection with the annual meeting of the Society twelve silver plaques of excellent workmanship with ancient scenes, the property of Mr M. von Wachenfelt, were exhibited. The silver plaques, which according to an import mark have come to England in 1919, show the representations on the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Phigalia) in Arcadia from c. 420 B.C. Battles between centaurs and lapiths and between Greeks and Amazons are illustrated on the frieze, which is in the British Museum; and on the silver plaques in Stockholm. The origin of the silver plaques is unknown, but this subject could be worth studying. They must have been manufactured some time after the discovery of the frieze in the early 19th century.

As before, the excavations at Asine on the Greek mainland and at Chania in Crete have been administered from the Graeco-Roman Department. A third project will be started in September 1976 at Paradeisos near Kavalla in Northern Greece on behalf of the Swedish Institute in Athens. The Egyptian Department has started architectural and epigraphical researches on the Karnak Temple at Luxor.

Bulletin 10, 1975 has appeared as a monograph, "Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten", written by Dr Beate George.

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